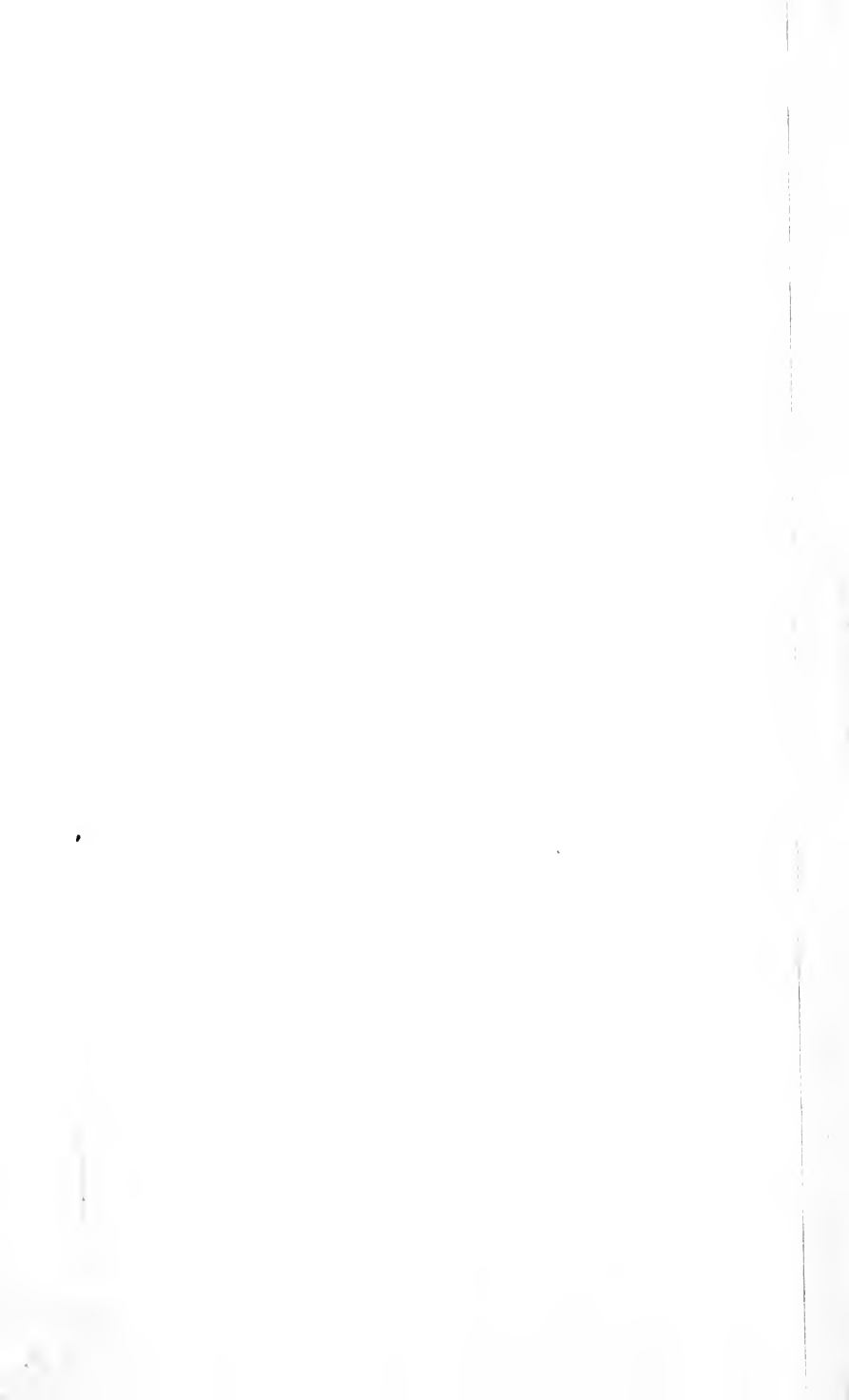


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Graham

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

VOL. I.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
FROM
THE PLANTATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES
TILL
THEIR REVOLT AND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

~~~~~  
By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq.  
~~~~~

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., CORNHILL.

1836.



LONDON :
PRINTED BY STEWART AND CO.,
OLD BAILEY.

TO
ROBERT GRAHAME, ESQ.

OF WHITEHILL, LANARKSHIRE, SCOTLAND

This Work is Dedicated,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUNDEST REVERENCE AND AFFECTION,

BY
HIS SON.

P R E F A C E.

THIS Historical Work is the fruit of more than eleven years of intense meditation, eager research, industrious composition, and solicitous revisal. To the Author, the scene of labour which he now concludes, has been one of the most agreeable features of his existence. And, should the perusal of his Work afford to others even a slight share of the entertainment that its production has yielded to himself, he may claim the honour and gratification of a successful contributor to the stock of human happiness and intelligence.

In the year 1827, I published a Work in two volumes entitled, *The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America till the British Revolution in 1688*. My plan, as I then announced, was, and it still is, restricted to the history of those provinces of North America (originating, all except New York and Delaware, from British colonization) which, at the era of the American

Revolution, were included in the confederacy of *The United States* :—the illustration of the parentage and birth of this great republic, being the end of my labours.

The first and second volumes of the present Work may be considered as a second edition of the Work which I formerly published. They embrace the rise of such of those States, comprehended within my general plan, as were founded prior to the British Revolution in 1688; and trace their progress till that epoch, and, in several instances, till a period somewhat later. Various additional researches which I have made since my first historical publication, and in which I have been assisted by suggestions kindly transmitted to me from America, have enabled me to correct some important errors by which that Work was deformed, and to render the present an enlarged and greatly amended edition of it. Of some of these emendations the nature and effect are such as to render it impossible (without making one volume contradict the statements in another) to publish a continuation of the History, except in connection with the present edition of the first portion of it—a circumstance which will perhaps expose me to blame, and which I most sincerely regret. The respect which I feel for the judgment of some intelligent and estimable friends (and in particular of my Brother¹) has induced me to cancel various passages in the original publication, which were censured as obtruding

¹ Author of “ A Treatise on Internal Intercourse and Communication in civilized States,” and other scientific works.

superfluous, perhaps irrelevant, reflections, or accumulating an excess of detail and illustration. A diligent and laborious revision, frequently repeated, has been productive of numerous alterations, and, I hope, proportional improvement in the style of my performance.

The third and fourth volumes of the present Work, form the second composition which was prospectively announced in the preface to my first historical publication. They continue the history (commenced in the first two volumes) of the older American States, and also embrace the rise and progress of those which were subsequently founded,—till the revolt of the United Provinces from the dominion of Britain, and their assumption of national independence. Properly speaking, they form a continuation, not of my original publication, but of my original Work as it has been subsequently altered and amended.

In the preface to my first publication, I announced a third composition which was intended to embrace the history of the Revolutionary War, and the establishment and consolidation of the North American Republic. But I have been induced by various reasons to abandon the purpose I had entertained of this ulterior effort. My first publication has had such scanty success, as forcibly to impress me with the expediency of improving the execution rather than extending the range of my historical design; of strengthening my claims, rather than multiplying my demands on the attention of the public. And since my first publication, I have met with and read

Botta's History of the War of American Independence—a work of so much merit, and so well suited, I think, to the present era, that it seems to me to render any other composition on the same subject, *at present*, quite superfluous. Thirty or forty years hence, a final and more compendious delineation of the scene may be required.

In the collection of materials for the composition of this Work, I have been obliged to incur a degree of toil and expense, which, in my original contemplation of the task, I was very far from anticipating. Considering the connection that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early condition and progress of many of these communities, which the public libraries of Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty. Many valuable works illustrative of the history and statistics, both of particular States and of the whole North American commonwealth, are wholly unknown in the British libraries: a defect the more discreditable, as these works have long enjoyed a high reputation at the seats of learning on the continent of Europe; and as the greater part of them might be procured without difficulty in London or from America.

After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain or obtain from America, my collection proved still so defective in many respects, that in the hope of enlarging it, and in compliance with the advice of my friend Sir William Hamilton, (of whose

counsel and assistance I can better feel the obligation than express the value) I undertook a journey in the year 1825, from Edinburgh, where I was then residing, to Gottingen : and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found a richer treasury of North American literature, than any, or indeed, all of the libraries of Britain could at that time supply. From the resources of the Gottingen library, and the liberality with which its administrators have always been willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I derived great advantage and assistance. I am indebted also to the private collections of various individuals in England and France, for the perusal of some very rare and not less valuable and interesting works, illustrative of the subject of my labours. To particularize all the persons who have thus or otherwise assisted my exertions, and enriched my stock of materials, would weary rather than interest the reader,—whom it less imports to know what opportunities I have had, than what use I have made of them. Yet I must be indulged in one grateful allusion to the advantage I have enjoyed in the communications which I have had the honour of receiving from that illustrious friend of America and of human nature, the late General La Fayette.

History addresses her lessons to all mankind : but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections

were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure traditions or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly ascertained ; and the people enabled to acquire a complete and accurate conception of the character of their earliest national ancestors, as well as of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved on themselves. When the interesting knowledge thus unfolded to them reveals, among other disclosures, that their existence as a nation originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition by which their liberty and happiness have been extended or secured, has proceeded from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and pledge of virtue ; the whole body of the people feels itself ennobled by the consciousness of ancestors whose renown will constitute, to the end of time, the honour or reproach of their successors ; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself *a*

citizen of no mean city, a North American may feel grateful exultation in styling himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as rich a harvest of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, from the earliest lapse of recorded time, has ever had the privilege of affording. A more elevated model of human character could hardly be proposed to the imitation of the people of New England, Pennsylvania, and some others of the North American States, than that which their own early history bequeaths to them. It is at once their interest and their honour to preserve with sacred care a bequest so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. They will cherish a generous and profitable self-respect, while they comply with the canon of Divine wisdom, to “remember the days of old, and consider the years of many generations;” and the venerated ashes of their fathers will dispense a nobler influence than the relics of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue.¹

The most important requisite of historical compositions, and that in which, I suspect, they are commonly most defective, is truth—a requisite, of which even the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us. In tracing ascertained and remarkable facts, either backward into their original, or forward

¹ “No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.”—Washington’s Speech to Congress, 30th April, 1789.

in their operation, the historian frequently encounters, on either hand, a perplexing variety of separate causes and diverging effects ; among which it is no less difficult than important to discriminate the predominant or peculiar springs of action, and to preserve the main and moral stream of events. Indiscriminate detail would produce intolerable fatigue and confusion ; while selection inevitably infers the risk of error. The sacred historians often record events with little or no reference to their moral origin and lineage ; and have thus given to some parts of the only history that is infallibly authentic, an appearance of improbability, which the more reasoning narratives of uninspired writers have exchanged, at least as frequently, for substantial misrepresentation. It may be thought an imprudent avowal, and yet I have no desire to conceal, that, in examining and comparing historical records, I have often been forcibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son, that "*History must be false.*"¹ Happily, this apophthegm applies, if not exclusively, at least most forcibly, to that which Walpole probably regarded as the main trunk of history, but which is, really, the

¹ Horace Walpole's works. A curious illustration of historical inaccuracy was related by the late President Jefferson to an intelligent English traveller. The Abbé Raynal, in his *History of the British Settlements in America*, has recounted a remarkable story which implies the existence of a particular law in New England. Some Americans being in company with the Abbé at Paris, questioned the truth of the story, alleging that no such law had ever existed in New England. The Abbé maintained the authenticity of his *History*, till he was interrupted by Dr. Franklin, who was present, and after listening for some time in silence to the dispute, said, "I can account for all this : you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor, and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story."—Hall's *Travels in Canada and the United States*.

most insignificant branch of it,—the intrigues of cabinets, the secret machinations and designs of ministers, and the conflicts of sordid unprincipled politicians.

In contemplating scenes of human dissension and strife, it is difficult, or rather it is impossible, for an observer, partaking the infirmities of human nature, to escape entirely the contagion of those passions which the controversies arose from or engendered. Thus partialities are secretly insinuated into the mind; and in balancing opposite testimony, they find a subtle and so much the surer means of exerting their influence. I am not desirous of concealing that I regard America with feelings of the strongest, perhaps the most partial, regard. If my consciousness of the existence of such feelings should not exempt my judgment from their influence, I hope the avowal, at least, will prevent the error from extending to my readers.

I am far from thinking or from purposing to assert or insinuate, that every part of the conduct of the American States throughout the various controversies in which they have been involved, was pure and blameless. Guile, evil passion, violence, and injustice, have in some instances dishonoured the councils and proceedings of the leaders and assemblies of America; and it was the conduct of one of the States, the most renowned for piety and virtue, that suggested to her historian the melancholy observation, “that in all ages and countries communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals of

whom they consisted, would, acting separately, have been ashamed.”¹ But mingled masses are justly denominated from the elements and qualities that preponderate in their composition; and sages and patriots must be regarded as the mere creations of fancy, if we can never recognise the lineaments of worth and wisdom under the vesture of mortal imperfection. There exists in some romantic speculative minds, a platonic love of liberty, as well as virtue, that consists with a fastidious disgust for every visible and actual incarnation of either of these principles; and which, when not corrected by sense and experience, conducts to ingenious error or to *seemingly* generous misanthropy.

Whoever, with attention minute and impartial, examines the histories of individuals or communities, must expect to be disappointed and perplexed by numberless imperfections and inconsistencies, which, wisely pondered, confirm the scriptural testimony of the inherent frailty of human nature, and the reflected lustre of human virtue. Much error is produced and continued in the world by unwillingness or inability to make candid concessions, or to admit charitable interpretations—to acknowledge in an adversary the excellence that condemns our indiscriminating hate; in a friend or hero, the defects that sully the pleasing image of virtue, that diminish our

¹ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. This observation referred immediately to the dispute between Massachusetts and the confederated States of New England in 1649: but, the general proposition which it involves is one which Hutchinson (himself an ambitious and disappointed antagonist of popular assemblies) snatches, throughout his work, every occasion to propound and illustrate.

exultation, and rebuke the excesses of inordinate confidence. There is not a more common nor more unhappy mistake, than that which confounds the impulse of sincerity with the virtue of candour. With partial views, sincerely embraced but not candidly appreciated, we encounter the opposite partialities of antagonists ; and by mutual commission and perception of injustice, confirm and reciprocate each other's misapprehensions. It should be the great end of history to correct the errors by which experience is thus rendered useless : and this end I have proposed to pursue,—with a humble reliance on the communication and guidance of that wisdom which is divinely declared to be *without partiality and without hypocrisy*, and attainable by all who seek it in sincerity from its heavenly source. The lingering sale of my first historical composition, and the general indifference with which it has been received, have contributed, I hope, to promote the rectitude and elevation of my views : fixing them more on lasting claims to success, than on a fleeting enjoyment of the consciousness of this advantage.

L'ÉPERONNIÈRE, NEAR NANTES,
September, 1835.



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PLANTATION AND PROGRESS OF
VIRGINIA,
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THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

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It was on the third of August, 1492, a little before sun-rise, CHAP.
that Christopher Columbus, undertaking the grandest enter- 1.
prise that human genius has ever conceived, or human 1492.
talent and fortitude have ever accomplished, set sail from
Spain for the discovery of the western world. On the 13th
of October, about two hours before midnight, a light in the
island of San Salvador was descried by Columbus from the
deck of his vessel, and America for the first time beheld by

BOOK I. European eyes¹. Of the wide and important train of consequences that depended on this spectacle, perhaps not even the comprehensive mind of Columbus was adequately sensible; but to the end of time, the heart of every human being who reads the story will confess the interest of that eventful moment, and partake the feelings of the illustrious man. On the following day, the Spanish adventurers, preceded by their commander, took possession of the soil; the external emblems of Christianity were planted on the shores of the western hemisphere; and a connexion, pregnant with a vast and various progeny of good and evil, was established between Europe and America.

The intelligence of this successful voyage was received in Europe with the utmost surprise and admiration. In England, more especially, it was calculated to produce a strong impression, and to awaken at once emulation and regret. While Columbus was proposing his schemes with little prospect of success at the court of Spain, he had despatched his brother Bartholomew to the court of Henry the Seventh in England, there to solicit patronage and tender the fruits of discovery. Bartholomew was taken prisoner by pirates, and after a long detention was reduced to such poverty, that on his arrival in London he was compelled, by the labour of his hands, to procure the means of arraying himself in habits becoming his interview with a monarch. His propositions were favourably entertained by Henry: but before a definitive arrangement was concluded, Bartholomew was recalled by the intelligence that his brother's plans had at

¹ Dr. Robertson is of opinion that the Ancients had no notion of the existence of the western world, and has collected from ancient writers many proofs, not only of ignorance, but of most barbarous error, respecting the extent and dimensions of the earth: Hist. of America, Book I. Yet a Roman writer, to whose sentiments he has not adverted, is supposed to have prophesied the discovery of America, 1400 years before this event took place. The passage occurs in one of Seneca's tragedies.

“Venient annis
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Viacula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.”

MEDEA, *Act II. Chorus.*

This passage attracted a good deal of comment from the early Spanish and Flemish writers on America. Acosta opposed the common notion of its being a prophecy, and maintained that it was a mere conjecture of the poet. Natural and Moral History of the Indies, B. I.

length been sanctioned and espoused by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

If the wary and penurious disposition of Henry contributed to diminish his regrets for the abandonment of a hazardous and expensive undertaking, the astonishing success with which its actual prosecution by others had been attended, revived the former projects of his mind, and inspired a degree of enterprise that showed him both instructed and provoked by the better fortune of the Spanish crown¹. In this temper he hearkened with satisfaction to the proposals of one Gabato or Cabot, a Venetian, residing in Bristol; who, from reflection on the discoveries of Columbus towards the south-west, had conceived the opinion that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west, and now offered to the king to conduct an expedition in this direction. Henry, prompted by his avarice and stung with envy and disappointment, readily closed with this proposal, and not only bestowed on its author a commission of discovery, but, on two subsequent occasions, issued similar commissions to other individuals for exploring and appropriating the territorial resources of unknown portions of the globe².

The commission to Cabot, the only one which was productive of interesting consequences, was granted on the 5th of March, 1495, (about two years after the return of Columbus from America), and empowered that adventurer and his sons to sail under the flag of England in quest of countries yet unappropriated by Christian sovereigns; to take possession of them in the name of Henry, and plant the English banner on the walls of their castles and cities, and to maintain with the inhabitants a traffic exclusive of all competitors, and exempted from customs; under the condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit of every voyage to the crown³. About two years after the date of his commission, Cabot, with his second son, Sebastian, embarked at Bristol⁴, in a ship provided by the king, and was attended by four small vessels equipped by the merchants of that city. Sebastian

¹ Bacon's History of Henry the Seventh.

² Bacon.

³ Hakluyt. Chalmers's Annals of the United Colonies. Hazard's Historical Collections.

⁴ Smith's History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer-Isles.

BOOK I. Cabot appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science; and it is to him alone that historians have ascribed all the discoveries with which the name of Cabot is associated.

Visits the
coast of
North
America.

1498.

The navigators of that age were not less influenced by the opinions than incited by the example of Columbus, who erroneously supposed that the islands he had discovered in his first voyage were outskirts or dependencies of India, and not far remote from the Indian continent. Impressed with this notion, Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope that by steering to the north-west he might fulfil the design, and improve the performance of Columbus, and reach India by a shorter course than this navigator had attempted. Pursuing that track, he discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John; and, still continuing to hold a westerly course, soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the confines of Labrador to the coast of Virginia. Thus conducted by Cabot, whose own lights were derived from the genius of Columbus, did the English achieve the honour of being the second nation that had visited the western world, and the first that had discovered the vast continent that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole: for it was not till the succeeding year that Columbus, in his second voyage, was enabled to complete his own discovery, and advance beyond the islands he had first visited, to the continent of America.

Neglect of
Cabot's
discovery
by Henry,

Cabot, disappointed in his main object of finding a western passage to India, returned to England to relate the discoveries he had already accomplished,—without attempting either by settlement or conquest to gain a footing on the American continent¹. He would willingly have resumed his voyages in the service of England, but he found that in his absence the king's ardour for discovery had greatly abated. Seated on a throne which he had gained by conquest, in a country exhausted by civil wars,—involved in hostilities with Scotland,—and haras-

¹ Churchill's Collection of Voyages. He composed, on his return, a chart of the whole North-American continent. This interesting document (attached to which was a portrait of the Navigator, and a brief account of his voyage,) was long suspended in the Privy Gallery of the kings of England, at Whitehall, and is supposed to have perished by the fire which destroyed that Gallery, in the reign of William the Third. Entick's Gen. Hist. of the Late War.

sed by the insurrections of his subjects and the machinations of pretenders to his crown,—Henry had little leisure for the execution of distant projects; and his sordid disposition found small attraction in the prospect of colonial settlement, which was not likely to be productive of immediate pecuniary gain. He was engaged, too, at this time in negotiating the marriage of his son with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain,—a transaction that supplied additional reasons for relinquishing designs which could not fail to give umbrage to this jealous prince, who claimed the whole continent of America, in virtue of a donative from the Pope. Nor were the subjects of Henry in a condition to avail themselves of the ample field that Cabot's discovery had opened to their enterprise and activity. The civil wars had dissipated wealth, repressed commerce, and even excluded the English people from partaking the general improvement of the other nations of Europe: and all the benefit which for the present they derived from the voyage of Cabot was, that right of territorial property which is supposed to arise from priority of discovery—an acquisition which, from the extent of the region, the mildness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, afforded an inviting prospect of advantageous colonization. But from the counteracting circumstances to which we have already adverted, was England prevented from occupying this important field, till the moral and religious advancement which her people were soon to undergo, should qualify her to become the parent of civility and population in North America. Cabot, finding that Henry had abandoned all colonial projects, soon after transferred his own services to the Spaniards; and the English seemed contented to surrender their discoveries and the discoverer to the superior fortune of that successful people. The only immediate fruit of his first enterprise is said to have been the importation from America of the first turkeys¹ that had ever been seen in Europe.

It is remarkable, that of these first expeditions to the western world, by Spain and England, not one was either projected or conducted by a citizen of the state which sup-

¹ Why this bird received the name it enjoys in England, has never been satisfactorily explained. By the French it was called *coq d'Inde*, on account of its American original; America being then generally termed Western India.

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plied the subordinate adventurers, defrayed the expense of the equipment, and reaped the benefit of the enterprise. The honour of the achievement was thus more widely distributed. The Spanish adventurers were conducted by Columbus, a native of Genoa; the English, by John Cabot, a citizen of Venice:¹ and though Sebastian Cabot, whose superior genius assumed the direction of the enterprise, had been born in England, it was by the experience and instructions of his father that his capacity had been trained to naval affairs, and it was to the father that the projection of the voyage was due, and the chief command of it intrusted. Happily for the honour of the English people, the parallel extends no farther; and the treatment which the two discoverers experienced from the nations that had employed them, differed as widely as the histories of the two empires which they respectively contributed to found. Columbus was loaded with chains in the region which he had the glory of discovering, and died the victim of ingratitude and disappointment among the people whom he had conducted to wealth and renown. Cabot, after spending some years in the service of Spain, also experienced her ingratitude; and returning, in his old age, to England, obtained a kind and honourable reception from the nation which had, as yet, derived only barren hopes, and a seemingly relinquished title from his expedition. He received the dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand Pilot of England, and a pension that enabled him to spend his old age in circumstances of honour and comfort.²

and by his
immediate
successors.

From this period till the reign of Elizabeth, no fixed views were entertained, nor any deliberate purpose evinced in England of occupying territory, or establishing colonies in America. In the earlier part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the attention and energy of the English government were absorbed by the wars and intrigues of the continent: and the innovations in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution that attended its close, supplied ample employment at home for the minds of the king, and of the great bulk of the people. It was during this reign that the full light of the Reformation

¹ The first expedition of the French to America was conducted in like manner, by an Italian, John Verazzan, a native of Florence.

² Smith.

broke forth in Germany, whence it was rapidly diffused, on all sides, over the rest of Europe. Henry, at first, resolutely opposed himself to the adversaries of the church of Rome, and even attempted, by his pen, to stem the progress of the innovations,—a service which the Pope rewarded by conferring on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But his subsequent controversy with the Papal See, awakened and sanctioned a spirit of inquiry among his own subjects, which spread far beyond his expectations and desires, and eluded all his attempts to control and restrain it. A discussion of the pretensions of the church of Rome naturally begot inquiry into her doctrines: for her grand pretension to infallibility formed the only authority to which many of these doctrines were indebted for their reception. This pretension indeed was so closely interwoven with the whole fabric of her canons and institutions, that even a partial dissent from any one of them, seemed to menace a principle that pervaded them all. In a system so overgrown with abuses, the spirit of inquiry, wherever it gained admission, could not fail to detect error; and even a single instance of such detection, by shaking the fundamental tenet of infallibility, arraigned the solidity of the whole structure. This danger, which could not have been entirely evaded, was aggravated by the alarm with which it inspired the Roman Pontiffs, and the imprudence of the defensive policy which they adopted. Utterly proscribing the spirit of inquiry, which it was no longer possible to suppress, they only stimulated its vigour and hostility, and compelled the Reformers to extend their views from an emendation of the church of Rome to an unqualified impugnation of her authority, and revolt from her communion. The progress of this growing spirit of inquiry operated with strong and salutary influence on the character and fortune of the nations in which it prevailed. A subject of rational investigation had at length been found, that could interest the dullest, and engross the most powerful capacities: the contagion of fervent zeal and bold excursive thought was widely propagated; and every people, by which the reformed doctrines were embraced, was elevated in force and dignity of intellectual character. Introduced into England by the power of a haughty, capricious, and barbarous tyrant, whose object was not the emancipation

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I. of his subjects, but the deliverance of himself from an authority which he wrested from the pope only to wield with his own hands,—some time elapsed before these doctrines worked their way into the minds of the people, and, expelling the corruptions and adulterations of the royal teacher, attained a full maturity of reasonable influence. Besides leavening the national creed with much of the ancient superstition, Henry encumbered the national worship with many of the Romish institutions : retaining whatever was calculated to prove a useful auxiliary to royal prerogative, or to gratify the pomp and pride of his own sensual imagination. In the composition of the ecclesiastical body, he preserved the splendid hierarchy ; and in the solemnities of worship, the gorgeous ceremonial of the church of Rome. But he found it easier to promulgate ecclesiastical ordinances, than to confine the stream of human opinion, or stay the heavenly shower by which it was gradually reinforced and enlarged : and in an after age, the repugnance that manifested itself between the constitution of the English church and the religious sentiments of the English people, produced consequences of very great importance in the history of England and the origination of civilized society in North America.

The rupture between Henry the Eighth and the Roman see, removed whatever obstacle the papal donative to Spain might have opposed to the appropriation of American territory by the English crown : but of the two immediate successors of that monarch, the one neglected this advantage, and the other renounced it. During the reign of Edward the Sixth, the court of the royal minor was distracted by faction, or occupied by the events and vicissitudes of a war with Scotland ; and the attention of the king and of a great portion of his people was engrossed by the care of extending and confirming the establishment of the protestant doctrines. Introduced by Henry, and patronized by Edward, these doctrines multiplied their converts with a facility that savoured somewhat of the influence of human authority, and the suggestions of secular interest ; till, under the direction of Providence, the same temporal power that had been employed to facilitate the introduction of truth, was permitted to attempt its extinction. The royal authority, which Henry

had blindly made subservient to the establishment of the protestant doctrines, was now employed by Mary, with equal blindness, as an instrument to sift and purify the protestant body, to separate the genuine from the unsound portions of it, and to enable the true believers, by more than mortal fortitude, faithfulness, and patience, to illustrate the perfection of Christian character and the plenitude of divine grace. This princess, restoring the connexion between England and the church of Rome, and united in marriage to Philip of Spain, was bound by double ties to refrain from contesting the Spanish claims on America. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that the obstacles created by the pretensions of Spain were finally removed, and the prospect of collision with the designs of this state, so far from appearing objectionable, presented the strongest attraction to the minds of the English.

But, although during this long period, the occupation of America had been entirely neglected, the naval resources adapted to the formation and maintenance of colonies were diligently cultivated in England, and a vigorous impulse was communicated to the spirit of commercial enterprise. Under the directions of Cabot, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the English merchants visited the coast of Brazil, and traded with the settlements of the Portuguese. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, which had been previously established, were extended and encouraged; and an association of adventurers for the discovery of new countries was incorporated by royal charter. Even Mary contributed to promote this direction of the national spirit: she founded the Corporation of Merchants to Russia, and studied to augment the security of their traffic, by cultivating a friendly relation with the sovereign of that country. During her reign, an attempt highly creditable to the national energy, and not wholly unsuccessful, was made to reach India by land¹; and a commercial intercourse was established with the coast of Africa. Many symptoms conspired to indicate with what steady vigour and persevering ardour the English might be expected to improve every opportunity of exerting and en-

¹ Hakluyt.

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larging their resources, and how high a rank they were destined to hold in the scale of nations, when the force of their character should be thoroughly developed by the progress of their recent improvement, and when the principles and policy of their government should more perfectly coincide with the genius and sentiments of the people.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, had spread their settlements over the southern regions of the new world, and achieved an extent of conquest and accession of treasure that dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of all Europe. Men of active and enterprising character in Spain, curbed and restricted at home by the illiberal genius of their government, eagerly rushed into the outlet of grand adventure presented to them on the vast theatre of Mexico and Peru. The paganism of the natives of these regions, allured the invasion of bigots long wedded to a faith that recognised compulsion as an instrument of conversion ; and their wealth and effeminacy not less powerfully tempted the cupidity and ambition of men in whom pride inflamed the thirst of riches, while it inspired contempt of useful industry. Thus every prospect that could address itself prevailing to human desires, or to the peculiarities of Spanish taste and character, contributed to promote that series of rapid and vigorous invasions, by which the Spaniards overran so large a portion of the continent of South America. The real and lasting effect of their acquisitions has corresponded in a manner very satisfactory to the moral eye, with the character and merit of the achievements by which they were earned. The history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the spirit of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure—how signally he is capable of misdirecting the energies with which his Creator has endowed him, and of disgracing the most admirable capacities of his nature, by rendering them instrumental to sordid, unjust, and barbarous ends. Religion, the grand corrective of human evil, error, and woe, shared this fatal perversion ; and the crosses which, as emblems of Christianity, successively announced the advent of this faith to each newly discovered region, proved any

thing but the harbingers of glory to God or good will to men. C H A P.
I.

The inflexible pride and deliberate tyranny of the Spanish adventurers, their arrogant disregard of the rights of human nature, and calm survey of the desolation of empires and destruction of happiness and life, is rendered the more striking and impressive by the humility of their own original circumstances, which seemed to level and unite them by habit and sympathy with the mass of mankind. Their conquests were accomplished with such rapidity, and followed with such barbarous oppression, that a very few years sufficed not only to subjugate, but almost wholly to extirpate, the slothful and effeminate idolaters, who were fated to perish by their hands. The settlements that were founded in the conquered countries produced, from the nature of the soil, a vast influx of gold and silver into Spain, and finally exercised a pernicious influence on the liberty, industry, and prosperity of her people. But it was long before the bitter harvest of this golden shower was reaped; and in an age so darkly blind to the liberal truths of political science, it could not be foreseen through the pomp and renown with which the acquisition of so much empire, and the administration of so much treasure, seemed to invest the Spanish monarchy. The achievements of the original adventurers, embellished by the romantic genius of Spain, and softened by national partiality, had now occupied the pens of Spanish historians, and excited a thirst for kindred enterprise, and hopes of similar enrichment in every nation to which the tidings were conveyed. The study of the Spanish language, and the acquaintance with Spanish literature which the marriage of Philip and Mary introduced into England, contributed to cherish this impulse in the minds of the English; and gave to the rising spirit of adventure among them a strong determination towards the continent of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempts of the English people to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes united to enfeeble their exertions for this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of so great a design. The civil government of Elizabeth, in the commencement of her reign, was acceptable to her subjects;

Reign of
Elizabeth—

B O O K. and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by
 1. the interests of arbitrary power, and the principles of a narrow and erroneous system, was in the main, perhaps, not less laudably designed than judiciously directed to the cultivation of their resources and the enlargement of their prosperity. By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted at once the agriculture and the commerce of England; and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavoured to establish commercial relations between their territories and her own.¹ Sensible how much the dignity and security of her crown and the welfare of her people depended on a naval force, she studiously addressed herself to encourage navigation; and so greatly increased the shipping of the kingdom, both by building large vessels herself, and by promoting ship-building among the merchants, that she was styled by her subjects the Restorer of naval glory, and the Queen of the northern seas.² Rigidly just in discharging the ancient debts of the crown, as well as in fulfilling all her own particular engagements,—yet forbearing towards her people in the imposition of taxes; frugal in the expenditure of her resources, and yet exerting a firm and deliberate perseverance in the prosecution of well directed projects, the policy of her civil government at once conveyed good lessons to her subjects, and happily coincided with the general cast and bent of their sentiments and character.

favourable
to maritime
adventure.

During a reign thus favourable to commercial enterprise, the spirit that had been gradually pervading the steady minds of the English, was called forth into active and vigorous exertion. Under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and conducted by Martin Frobisher, an expedition was despatched for the discovery of a north-west passage to
 1578. India: but after exploring the coasts of Labrador and Green-

¹ She obtained from John Basilides, the czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English. With this grant, the tyrant, who lived in continual dread of a revolt of his subjects, purchased from Elizabeth the assurance of an asylum from their fury in England. But his son Theodore revoked it, and answered to the queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners by subjecting to monopolies what should be free to all mankind. Camden. So superior was the commercial policy which natural justice taught this barbarian, to the system which Elizabeth derived from her boasted learning and renowned ability, and which, in the progress of her reign, loaded the freedom and industry of her people with patents, monopolies, and exclusive companies.

² Camden. Strype.

land, Frobisher was compelled to return with the tidings of disappointment. If the ardour of the English was damped by this failure, it was quickly revived by the successful effort of Sir Francis Drake, who, with a feeble squadron, undertook and accomplished the same enterprise that for sixty years had formed the peculiar glory of the Portuguese navigator Magellan, and obtained for England the honour of being the second nation that had completely circumnavigated the globe. A general enthusiasm was excited by this splendid achievement, and a passion for naval exploits laid hold of almost all the leading spirits of the age.

Yet still no project of effecting a permanent settlement abroad had been entertained or attempted by the English. The happiness that was enjoyed by the subjects of Elizabeth enhanced those attractions that bind the hearts of men to their native land, and are rarely surmounted but by the experience of intolerable hardships at home, or the prospect of sudden enrichment abroad. Now the territory of North America presented none of the allurements that had incited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers; it encouraged no hopes but of distant gain, and invited no exertions but of patient industry. The prevalence of the protestant doctrines in England, and the increasing influence of a sense of religion on the minds of the people, disinclined many persons to abandon the only country where the Reformation appeared to be securely established; engrossed the minds of others with schemes for the improvement of the constitution and ritual of their national church; and probably repressed in some ardent spirits the epidemical thirst of adventure, and reconciled them to that moderate competency which the state of society in England rendered easily attainable, and the simplicity of manners preserved from contempt.

But if the immediate influence of religious principle was unfavourable to projects of colonization, it was to the further development of that noble principle that England was soon to be indebted for the most remarkable and interesting colonial establishment that she has ever possessed. The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was far from giving the same general satisfaction that her civil government afforded to her subjects. Inheriting the arrogant temper, the lofty pretensions, and the

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taste for pompous pageantry by which her father had been distinguished, without partaking his earnest zeal and sincere bigotry, — religious considerations often mingled with her policy, but religious sentiments had little, if any, influence on her heart. Like him, she wished to render the establishments of Christian worship subservient to the indulgence of human pomp and vanity: and by a splendid hierarchy and gorgeous ceremonial, mediate an agreement between the loftiness of her heart and the humility of the gospel. But the trials and afflictions which the English protestants had undergone from Mary had deepened and purified the religious sentiments of a great body of this people, and at the same time associated with many of the ceremonies retained in the national church, the idea of popery and the recollection of persecution. This repugnance between the sentiments of the men who now began to be termed *Puritans*, and the ecclesiastical policy of the English government, continued to increase during the whole of Elizabeth's reign: but as the influence which it exercised on the colonization of America was not manifested till the succeeding reign, the further account of it must be deferred till we come to trace its effects in the rise and progress of the settlements of New England.

Rise of the
slave trade.

During the present reign, there was introduced into England a branch of that inhuman traffic in negro slaves, which afterwards engrossed so large a portion of her commercial wealth and activity, and converted a numerous body of her merchants into a confederacy of robbers, and much of what she termed her *trade* into a system of deliberate fraud and atrocious rapine and violence. The first Englishman who exposed himself and his country to this foul reproach, was Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards attained a high nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral and treasurer of the British navy. His father, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries, which he transmitted to his son in the copious journals he had preserved of his travels and observations. In these compositions, he described the soil of America and the West Indies as endowed by nature with extraordinary richness and fertility, yet languishing in total un-

productiveness from the actual want of cultivators. The natives of Europe were represented as unequal to the toil of agriculture in so sultry a climate; but those of Africa as peculiarly well adapted to this employment. Forcibly struck with his father's remarks, Hawkins deduced from them the project of transporting Africans into the western world; and having composed a plan for the execution of this design, he produced it to some of his opulent neighbours, and solicited their approbation and concurrence. A subscription was opened, and speedily completed by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and other persons, who plainly perceived the vast emolument that might be derived from the adventure proposed to them. By their assistance Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562; and having reached Sierra Leone, he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound; contrasting the fertility of its soil and the wealth of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. Finding that the unsuspecting negroes listened to him with implicit belief, and were greatly captivated with the European luxuries and ornaments which he displayed to their view,—he offered, if any of them were willing to exchange their destitute circumstances for a happier condition, to transport them to this more bountiful region, where he assured them of a friendly reception, and of an ample participation in the enjoyments with which he had made them acquainted, as a certain recompense of easy labour. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises; and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola. On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe; and Hawkins hastening with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assailants, and carried a number of them as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed cargo of human creatures, and during the passage treated the negroes who had voluntarily accompanied him in a different manner from his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola, he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavoured to inculcate on

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the Spaniards who bought the negroes, the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But having now put the fulfilment of his promises out of his own power, it was not permitted to him so to limit the evil consequences of his perfidy : and the Spaniards who had purchased all the Africans at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently treated them all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger, which he had received in exchange for his slaves, the success of his voyage excited universal interest and curiosity respecting the sources from which so much wealth had been derived. At first the nation was shocked with the barbarous aspect of a traffic in the persons of men ; and the public feeling having penetrated into the court, the queen sent for Hawkins to inquire in what manner this novel and extraordinary description of commerce was conducted ; declaring to him that “ if any of the Africans were carried away without their own consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers.” Hawkins, in reply, protested that in no expedition which he conducted, should any of the natives of Africa be carried away by compulsion, except such captives as might be taken in war : and he declared that so far from entertaining any scruple concerning the justice of his policy, he deemed it an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better ; from a state of heathen barbarism to an opportunity of sharing the blessings of Christianity and civilization.¹ It is believed, indeed, and seems consonant with probability, that Hawkins did not himself contemplate the perpetual slavery of the negroes whom he sold, but expected that they would be advanced to the condition of free servants whenever their labours had yielded to their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. The queen appeared to be satisfied with his explanation, and dismissed him with the

¹ This was the plea by which all the conductors and apologists of the slave trade attempted to vindicate the practice in its infancy. The danger of hearkening to a policy that admits of “ doing evil that good may come,” was never more strikingly illustrated than by the descendants of those men, whom we have seen (both in America and the West Indies) enact laws prohibiting all education, moral, political, or religious, of their negro slaves.

assurance that, while he and his associates acted with humanity and justice, they might depend on her countenance and protection. CHAP.
I.

The very next voyage that Hawkins undertook, demonstrated still more clearly than the former the deceitfulness of that unction which he had applied to his conscience, and the futility even of those intentions of which the fulfilment seemed to depend entirely on himself. In his passage he met with an English ship of war, which joined itself to the expedition, and accompanied him to the coast of Africa. On his arrival, he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, and endeavoured, by reiteration of his former topics of persuasion, to induce them to embark in his vessels. But they had now become reserved, and jealous of his designs; and as none of their countrymen had returned from the former voyage, they were apprehensive that the English had killed and devoured them; a supposition which, however offensive to the English, did greatly and erroneously extenuate the inhumanity of which they had been actually guilty. The crew of the ship of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to deride the gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding to which Hawkins confined himself, and proposed immediate recourse to violence and compulsion. The sailors belonging to his own vessels joined with the crew of the man-of-war, and, applauding their proposal, made instant preparation for carrying it into effect. Hawkins protested against such lawless barbarity, and vainly endeavoured to prevail on them to desist from their purpose. But the instructions of the queen and the dictates of conscience were ineffectually cited to men whom he had initiated in piracy and injustice, and who were not able to discover the moral superiority of calm treachery over undisguised violence. They pursued their design, and after various unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, another cargo of human beings was at length collected by force and cruelty.¹ Such was the origin of the English branch of the slave trade, which is here related the more minutely, not only on account of the remarkable

¹ Hakluyt. Hill's Naval History. Hewitt's History of South Carolina and Georgia.

BOOK and instructive circumstances that attended the commence-
 I. ment of the practice¹, but on account of the influence which it subsequently exercised on the colonization and condition of some of the provinces of North America.

The spirit of adventure which had been excited in the English nation found a more inviting scene of exertion in the southern than in the northern regions of America : and when, after twenty years of peace, Elizabeth was engaged in war with her brother-in-law, Philip, the prospect of enrichment and renown by the plunder of the Spanish colonies opened a new career, which was eagerly embraced and successfully prosecuted by the enterprising spirit of adventurers of all ranks in England. Accordingly, for many years, the most popular and notable exploits of the English were performed in the predatory hostilities which they waged with the colonies and colonial commerce of Spain. Even in scenes so unfavourable to the production or display of the better qualities of human nature, the manly character and moral superiority of the English were frequently and strikingly displayed. Drake and many others of the adventurers in the same career were men equally superior to avarice and fear; and though willing to encounter hardship and danger in quest of wealth, they did not esteem it valuable enough to be acquired at the expense of honour and humanity.

And yet it was to this spirit, so unfavourable to industrious colonization, and so strongly attracted to a more congenial sphere in the south, that North America was indebted for the first attempt to colonize her territory. Thus irregular and incalculable (to created wisdom) is the influence of human passions on the stream of human affairs.

Sir Walter
 Raleigh—

The most illustrious adventurer in England was Sir Walter Raleigh, a man endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition, and unconquerable activity; whose capacious mind, stimulated by an ardent spirit, and strongly impregnated with the enthusiasm, credulity, and sanguine expectation peculiar to the age, no single project, however vast or arduous, could wholly absorb. The extent of his capacity combined acquirements that are commonly esteemed remote and almost incom-

¹ See Note 1, at the end of the volume.

patible with each other. Framed in the prodigality of nature, C H A P.
 he was, at once, the most industrious scholar and the most 1.
 accomplished courtier of his age; as a projector, profound, ingenious, and indefatigable; as a soldier, prompt, daring, and heroic; so contemplative (says an old writer) that he might have been judged unfit for action; so active that he seemed to have no leisure for contemplation.¹ The chief defect of his mental temperament was the absence of moderation and regularity of thought and aim. He had unfortunately adopted the maxim that "whatever is not extraordinary is nothing;" and his mind (till the last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognise that nobility of purpose which ennobles the commonest actions, and elevates circumstances instead of borrowing dignity from them. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, the fancy and the passions of Raleigh transported him in some instances beyond the bounds of rectitude, honour, and reasonable propriety; and, seconded by the perverse complexion of his fortune, entailed reproach on his character and discomfiture on his undertakings. But, though adversity might cloud his path, it could never depress his spirit, or quench a single ray of his genius. The continual discomfiture of his efforts and projects, served only to display the exhaustless opulence and indestructible vigour of that intellect, of which no accumulation of disaster, nor variety of discouragement could either repress the ardour or narrow the range. Amidst disappointment and impoverishment, pursued by royal hatred, and forsaken by his popularity, he continued to project and attempt the foundation of empires; and in old age and a prison he composed the History of the World. Perhaps there never was another instance of distinguished reputation as much indebted to genius, and as little to success. So powerful indeed is the association that connects merit with success, and yet so strong the claim of Raleigh to evade the censure which this view implies, that we find it difficult to pronounce him, even amidst uninterrupted disaster, an unsuccessful man. Whatever judgment may be formed of his character, we must acknowledge that in genius he was worthy of

¹ Lloyd's State Worthies.

BOOK I. the honour which he may, perhaps, be considered to have attained, of originating the settlements that grew up into the North American republic.

projects a
colony in
North
America.

1578.

In conjunction with a kindred spirit, his half-brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which Cabot had visited ; and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty in favour of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. This patent authorized him to explore and appropriate all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by Christian powers, and to hold them as a fief of the crown of England, with the obligation of paying the fifth part of the produce of all gold or silver mines : it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition,¹ and guaranteed to them a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights of free denizens of England : it invested Gilbert with the powers of civil and criminal legislation over all the inhabitants of the territory which he might occupy ; but with this limitation, that his laws should be framed with as much conformity as possible to the statutes and policy of England, and should not derogate from the supreme allegiance due to the English crown. The endurance of the patent, in so far as related to the appropriation of territory, was limited to six years ; and all other persons were prohibited from establishing themselves within two hundred leagues of any spot which the adventurers might occupy during that period.²

The extraordinary powers thus committed to the leader of the expedition did not prevent the accession of a numerous body of subordinate adventurers. Gilbert had earned high and honourable distinction by his services both in France and Ireland ; and the attractive power of his reputation, concurring with the spirit of the times, and aided by the zeal of Raleigh and the influence of Secretary Walsingham, enabled him speedily to collect a sufficient body of associates, and to accomplish the equipment of the first expedition of British

¹ Strange as it may appear, this provision was absolutely necessary to evade the obstructions of the existing law of England. By the ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John, all men might go freely out of the kingdom, saving their faith due to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor ; and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted, that any subject departing the realm without a license under the Great Seal should forfeit his personal estate, and lose the profits of his lands for life. 13 Eliz. cap. 3.

² Stùth's History of Virginia. Hazard's Historical Collections.

emigrants to America. But in the composition of this body C H A P. I.
 there were elements very ill fitted to establish an infant com-
 monwealth on a solid or respectable basis; the officers were
 disunited, the crew mutinous and licentious: and happily for
 the credit of England, it was not the will of Providence that
 the adventurers should gain a footing in any new region.
 Gilbert, approaching the American continent by too northerly
 a course, was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the
 coast of Cape Breton: his largest vessel was shipwrecked: First expe-
 and two voyages, in the last of which he himself perished, dition fails.
 finally terminated in the defeat of the enterprise and dispersion 1580.
 of the adventurers.¹

But the ardour of Raleigh, neither daunted by difficulties
 nor damped by miscarriage, and continually refreshed by the
 suggestions of a fertile and uncurbed imagination, was inca-
 pable of abandoning a project that had gained his favour and
 exercised his energy. Applying to the queen, in whose esteem
 he then held a distinguished place, he easily prevailed with
 her to grant him a patent, in all respects similar to that which
 had been previously bestowed upon Gilbert.² 1584. Not less
 prompt in executing than intrepid in projecting his schemes,
 Raleigh soon despatched two small vessels, commanded by
 Amadas and Barlow, to visit the districts which he intended
 to occupy, and to examine the accommodations of their coasts,
 the productions of the soil, and the condition of the inha-
 bitants. These officers, avoiding the error of Gilbert in
 steering too far north, shaped their course by the Canaries,
 and, approaching the North American continent by the
 Gulf of Florida, anchored in Roanoak Bay, which now forms
 a part of Carolina. Worthy of the trust that had been re-
 posed in them, they behaved with much courtesy to the
 inhabitants of the region, whom they found living in all the
 rude independence and labourless, but hardy simplicity of
 savage life, and of whose hospitality, as well as of the mildness
 of the climate and fertility of the soil, they published the
 most flattering accounts on their return to England. This

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 143. In Prince's "Worthies of Devon" it is stated, that Sir Humphry Gilbert took possession of the river St. Lawrence in the name of Queen Elizabeth. But his only act of possession (says Oldmixon,) was the leaving his largest vessel a wreck there.

² Stith. Hazard.

BOOK

I.

Elizabeth
names the
country
Virginia.

intelligence diffused general satisfaction, and was so agreeable to Elizabeth, that, in exercise of the parentage she proposed to assume over the country, and as a memorial that the acquisition of it originated with a virgin queen, she thought proper to bestow on it the name of Virginia.¹

Grenville
despatched
by Ra-
leigh—

This encouraging prospect not only stimulated the enthusiasm of Raleigh, but, by its influence on the minds of his countrymen, enabled him the more speedily to complete his preparations for a permanent colonial settlement; and he was soon in a condition to equip and despatch a squadron of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most heroic spirits of the time, and eminent for valour in an age distinguished by the numbers of the brave. But this gallant leader unfortunately was more infected with the spirit of predatory enterprise at that time so prevalent among the English, than endued with the qualities which his peculiar duty, on the present occasion, required: and, commencing his expedition by cruising among the West India islands and capturing the vessels of Spain, he initiated his followers in pursuits and views very remote from peaceful industry, patient perseverance, and moderation. At length he landed a hundred and eight men² at Roanoak; and left them there to attempt, as they best might, the arduous task of founding and maintaining a social establishment. The command of this feeble body was committed to Captain Lane, assisted by some persons of note; of whom the most eminent were Amadas, who had conducted the former voyage; and Thomas Heriot, the improver of algebraical calculation, a man whose sense and virtue might have preserved the colony, if these qualities had been shared by his associates, and whose unremitted endeavours to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by adding to the stock of human knowledge, and by extending the example of virtue, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind. The selection of such a man to accompany and partake the enterprise reflects additional honour on his friend and patron

Aug. 1585.
establishes
a colony at
Roanoak.

¹ Smith. The country was so called (says Oldmixon) either in honour of the virgin estate of the queen, “or, as the Virginians will have, because it still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation.” Oldmixon’s *British Empire in America*. 2d edit.

² Smith, B. i.

Raleigh. Heriot endeavoured to avail himself of the admiration expressed by the savages for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of their visitors, in order to lead their minds to the great Source of all sense and science. But while they hearkened to his instructions, they accommodated the import of them to their own depraved notions of Divine Nature: they acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and more beneficent to his people than the deities whom they served; and expressed an eager desire to touch and embrace the Bible, and apply it to their breasts and heads.¹ In the hands of an artful or superstitious priest, such practices and dispositions would probably have produced a plentiful crop of pretended miracles and imaginary cures of diseases, and terminated in an exchange of superstition, instead of a renovation of moral nature. But Heriot was incapable of flattering or deceiving the savages by encouraging their idolatry, and merely changing its direction: he laboured to convince them that the benefits of religion were to be obtained by acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, and not by an ignorant veneration of the exterior of the book. By these labours, which were too soon interrupted, he succeeded in making such impression on the minds of the Indians, that Wingina, their king, finding himself attacked by a severe malady, rejected the assistance of his own priests, and solicited the attendance and prayers of the English; and his example was followed by many of his subjects.²

But unfortunately for the stability of the settlement, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence than by eager and impetuous desire to obtain immediate wealth: their first pursuit was gold; and, smitten with the persuasion that every part of America was pervaded by ramifications of the mines which enriched the Spanish colonies, their chief efforts were directed to the acquisition of treasures that happily had no existence. The natives discovering the object which the strangers sought with so much avidity, amused them with tales of a neighbouring region abounding with the precious metals, and possessing such

¹ Heriot, apud Smith.

² Ibid.

quantities of pearl, that even the walls of the houses glittered with its lavish display.¹ Eagerly listening to these agreeable fictions, the adventurers consumed their time and endured extreme hardships in pursuit of a phantom, while they neglected entirely the means of providing for their future subsistence. The detection of the imposture produced mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the savages, and finally led to open enmity and acts of bloodshed. The stock of victuals brought with them from England was exhausted; the additional supplies they had been taught to expect did not arrive; and the hostility of the Indians left them no other dependence than on the precarious resources of the woods and rivers. Thus, struggling with increasing scarcity of food, and surrounded by enemies, the colonists were reduced to a state of the utmost distress and danger, when a prospect of deliverance was unexpectedly presented to them by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet which he was conducting home from a successful enterprise against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake agreed to supply them with an addition to their numbers, and a liberal contribution of provisions; and if this had been done, it seems probable that, with the ample reinforcement soon after transmitted by Raleigh, the colonists might have been able to maintain their establishment in America. But Drake's intentions were frustrated by a storm, that carried out to sea the very ship which he had freighted with the requisite supplies; and, as he could not afford to weaken his fleet, by a further contribution for their defence or subsistence, the adventurers, now completely exhausted and discouraged, unanimously determined to abandon the settlement. In compliance with their desire, Drake accordingly received them on board his vessels, and reconducted them to England.² Such was the abortive issue of the first colonial settlement planted by the English in America.

Of the political consequences that resulted from this expedition, the catalogue, though far from copious, is not entirely devoid of interest. An important accession was made to the scanty stock of knowledge respecting North America; the spirit of mining adventure received a salutary

¹ Smith.

² Ibid.

Misfortunes of the colonists—

their return.

1586.

check; and the use of tobacco, already introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese into other parts of Europe, was now imported into England. This herb the Indians esteemed their principal medicine;¹ and some tribes are said to have ascribed its virtues to the inhabitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature. Lane and his associates, contracting a relish for its properties, brought a quantity of tobacco with them to England, and taught the use of it to their countrymen. Raleigh, in particular, adopted, and with the help of some young men of fashion, encouraged the practice, which soon established itself and spread with a vigour that outran the help of courtiers, and defied the hinderance of kings; and, creating a new and almost universal appetite in human nature, formed an important source of revenue to England, and multiplied the ties that united Europe with America.²

CHAP.
I.
Use of tobacco introduced into England.

But the disasters that attended this unfortunate enterprise did not terminate with the return of Lane and his followers to England. A few days after their departure from Roanoak, a vessel, despatched by Raleigh, reached the evacuated settlement with a plentiful contribution of all necessary stores; and only a fortnight after this bark set sail to return from its fruitless voyage, a still larger reinforcement of men and provisions arrived, in three ships equipped by Raleigh, and commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Disappointed of meeting the vessel that had preceded him, and unable to obtain any tidings of the colonists, yet unwilling to abandon the possession of the country, Grenville landed fifty men at Roanoak, and leaving them in possession of an ample supply of provisions, returned to England to communicate the state of affairs and obtain further directions.³

¹ Heriot ap. Smith.

² Queen Elizabeth herself, in the close of her life, became one of Raleigh's pupils in the accomplishment of smoking. One day, as she was partaking this indulgence, Raleigh betted with her that he could ascertain the weight of the smoke that should issue in a given time from her majesty's mouth. For this purpose, he weighed first the tobacco, and afterwards the ashes left in the pipe, and assigned the difference as the weight of the smoke. The queen acknowledged that he had gained his bet; adding that she believed he was the only alchemist who had ever succeeded in turning smoke into gold. Stith.

³ Smith. "The Virginians positively affirm that Sir Walter Raleigh made this voyage in person." Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. 2d edit. But the wish alone seems to have been the parent of this notion.

BOOK I. This succession of disasters excited much gloomy speculation and superstitious surmise in England,¹ but could neither vanquish the hopes nor exhaust the resources of Raleigh, whose dauntless and aspiring mind still rode in triumph over all mischance. In the following year he fitted out and despatched three ships under the command of Captain White, with directions to join the small body that Grenville had established at Roanoak, and thence to transfer the settlement to the bay of Chesapeake, of which the superior advantages had been remarked in the preceding year by Lane. A charter of incorporation was granted to White and twelve of his principal associates, as Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. In the hope of evading the unprosperous issue of the former expeditions, more efficacious means were adopted, in the equipment of this squadron, for preserving and continuing the colony. The stock of provisions was more abundant; the number of men greater, and the means of recruiting their numbers afforded by a competent intermixture of women. But the full extent of the precedent calamities had yet to be learned: and on landing at Roanoak in quest of the detachment that Grenville had placed there, White and his companions could find no other trace of it than the significant memorial presented by a ruined fort and a parcel of scattered bones.² The apprehensions excited by this melancholy spectacle were confirmed by the intelligence of a friendly native, who informed them that their countrymen had fallen victims to the enmity of the Indians. Instructed rather than discouraged by this calamity, they endeavoured to cultivate the good will of the savages; and, determining to remain at Roanoak, they proceeded to repair the houses and restore the colony. One of the natives was baptized into the Christian faith, and, retaining an unshaken attachment to the English, contributed his efforts to pacify and conciliate his countrymen.³ But finding themselves destitute of many articles which they had judged essential to their comfort and preservation, in a country thickly covered with forests, and peopled only by a few scattered tribes of savages, the colonists deputed their governor to solicit for

Farther efforts of Raleigh—
1587.

¹ Smith.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

them the requisite supplies; and White repaired for this purpose to England. On his voyage thither, he touched at a port in Ireland, where he is reputed to have introduced the first specimens ever seen in Europe of the potatoe plant, which he had brought with him from America. But whether this memorable importation was due to him, or, as some writers have maintained, to certain of the earlier associates of Raleigh's adventures, it must be acknowledged that to the enterprise of Raleigh, and the soil of America, Great Britain is indebted for her acquaintance with the potatoe, and with tobacco, the staple article of diet, and the most cherished as well as the most innocent luxury of a great portion of her people.

White arrived at a juncture very unfavourable for the success of his mission. All England was now engrossed with the more immediate concern of self-preservation: the formidable armada of Spain was preparing to invade her, and the whole naval and military resources of the empire were placed under requisition for the purposes of national defence. The hour of his country's danger could not fail to present the most interesting employment to the generous spirit of Raleigh: yet he mingled with his distinguished efforts to repel the enemy, some exertions for the preservation of the colony which he had planted. For this purpose he had, with his usual promptitude, equipped a small squadron, which he committed to the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, when the queen interposed to detain the ships that were adapted for battle, and to prohibit Grenville from leaving England at such a crisis. White, however, was enabled to reembark for America with two small vessels; but yielding to the temptation of trying his fortune by the way, in a cruise against the Spaniards, he was beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from pursuing his voyage. The colony at Roanoak was therefore left to depend on its own feeble resources, of which the diligent cultivation was not likely to be promoted by the hopes that were entertained of foreign succour. What its fate was, may be easily guessed, but never was certainly known. An expedition conducted by White in the following year found the territory evacuated of the colonists, of whom no further tidings were ever obtained¹.

1588.

terminate
unsuccess-
fully.
1589.

¹ Smith. Stith. Williamson's History of North Carolina.

BOOK
1. This last expedition was not despatched by Raleigh, but by his successors in the American patent : and our history is now to take leave of that illustrious man, with whose schemes and enterprises it ceases to have any farther connection. The ardour of his mind was not exhausted, but diverted by a multiplicity of new and not less important concerns. Intent on peopling and improving a large district in Ireland which the queen had conferred on him ; engaged in the conduct of a scheme, and the expense of an armament for establishing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal ; and already revolving his last and wildest project of an expedition for the discovery of mines in Guiana ; he found it impossible to continue either the attention or the expenditure which he had devoted to his American colony. Desirous, at the same time, that a project which he had carried so far should not be entirely abandoned, and hoping that the spirit of commerce would preserve an intercourse with America that might terminate in a colonial settlement, he consented to assign his patent to Sir Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London, who undertook to establish and maintain a traffic between England and Virginia. The patent which he thus transferred had already cost him the enormous sum of 40,000*l.*, without affording him the slightest return of pecuniary profit : yet the only personal consideration for which he stipulated with the assignees was a small share of whatever gold or silver ore they might eventually discover ; and he now bestowed on them, in addition to his previous disbursements, a donation of one hundred pounds in aid of the efforts to which they pledged themselves for the propagation of Christianity in America¹.

It appeared very soon that Raleigh had transferred his patent to hands very different from his own. The last mentioned expedition, which was productive of nothing but tidings of the miscarriage of a prior adventure, was the most notable exertion that the London company undertook. Satisfied with a paltry traffic conducted by a few small vessels, they made no attempt to take possession of the country ; and at the period of Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was

¹ Hazard. Campbell's History of Virginia.

settled in America. The exertions of Raleigh, however, had united the views and hopes of his countrymen, by a strong association, with settlements in Virginia, and given a bias to the national spirit which only the encouragement of more favourable circumstances was wanting to develope. But the war with Spain, that endured till the close of Elizabeth's reign, allured men of enterprise and activity into the career of predatory adventure, and obstructed the formation of peaceable and commercial settlements.

The accession of James to the English crown was, by a singular coincidence, an event no less favourable to the colonization of America, than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. From the inability of government in that age to collect all the disposable force of the empire for combined operation, war was chiefly productive of a series of partial efforts and privateering expeditions, which widely diffused the allurements of ambition, and multiplied the opportunities of advancement. This had been remarkably exemplified in the contest with Spain; and many ardent spirits to which this contest had supplied opportunities of animating exertion and flattering ascendancy, became impatient of the restraint and inactivity to which the peace consigned them, and began to look abroad for a new sphere of action and enterprise.

The prevalence of such dispositions naturally led to a revival of the project of colonizing North America, which gained an additional recommendation to public favour from the success of a voyage that had been undertaken in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Bartholomew Gosnold; who planned and performed this voyage in a small vessel, containing only thirty men, was led by his experience in navigation to suspect that the right track had not yet been discovered, and that in steering by the Canary Islands and the Gulf of Florida, a circuit of at least a thousand leagues was unnecessarily made. In prosecution of his conjecture, he abandoned the southern track, and steering more to the westward, was the first navi-

1603.
Accession
of James
to the
English
crown.

Gosnold's
voyage—

CHAP.
I.

BOOK I. gator who reached America by this directer course. He arrived at a more northerly quarter of the continent than any of Raleigh's colonists had visited, and landing in the region which now forms the state of Massachussets¹, he conducted an advantageous traffic with the natives, and freighted his vessel with abundance of rich peltry. He visited two adjacent islands, one of which he named Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island. The aspect of the country appeared so inviting, and the climate so salubrious, that twelve of the crew at first determined to remain there ; but reflecting on the melancholy fate of the colonists at Roanoak, they found their resolution unequal to their wishes ; and the whole party reluctantly quitting the agreeable region, returned to England after an absence of less than four months.²

its effects.

The report of this expedition produced a strong impression on the public mind, and led to important consequences. Gosnold had discovered a route that greatly shortened the voyage to North America, and found a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and a coast abounding with excellent harbours. He had seen many fruits that were highly esteemed in Europe growing plentifully in the American woods ; and having sown some European grain, had found it germinate with rapidity and vigour. Encouraged by his success, and perhaps not insensible to the hope of finding gold and silver, or some new and lucrative article of commerce in the unexplored interior of so fine a country, he endeavoured to procure associates in an undertaking to transport a colony to America. Similar plans began to be formed in various parts of the kingdom ; but the spirit of adventure was controlled by a salutary caution awakened by the recollection of former disappointments.

These projects were zealously promoted by the counsel and encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the

¹ He appears to have been the second Englishman who landed in New England. The first was Sir Francis Drake, who remained there a few days and traded with the natives in his return from the West Indies in 1586. It is even said that Drake persuaded one of the Indian chiefs of that region to declare his territories subject to queen Elizabeth. Oldmixon.

² Purchas. Smith. Stith.

leaders who conducted them, and the historian of the exploits they gave rise to. At his suggestion¹, two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and despatched to examine the discoveries of Gosnold, and verify his statements. They returned with an ample confirmation of the navigator's veracity. A similar expedition was equipped and despatched by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour², which not only produced farther testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars in favour of the country, that all doubt and hesitation vanished from the minds of the projectors of American colonization: and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful to undertake this enterprise, being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for his sanction of the plan, and the interposition of his authority towards its execution.

The attention of James had been already directed to the advantages attending the plantation of colonies, at the time when he attempted to civilize the more barbarous clans of his original subjects by introducing detachments of industrious traders from the low country into the Highlands of Scotland.³ Well pleased to resume a favourite speculation, and willing to encourage a scheme that opened a safe and peaceful career to the active genius of his new subjects, he hearkened readily to the application; and, highly commending the plan, acceded to the wishes of its projectors. Letters patent were issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The design of the patentees was declared to be, "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and as the main recommendation of the design, it was announced that "so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and wor-

CHAP.
1.
1603.
1605.

April.
1606.
James di-
vides
North
America
between
two com-
panies—

¹ Smith.² Ib. Oldmixon.³ Robertson's Hist. of Scotland.

BOOK I. ship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government." The patentees were required to divide themselves into two distinct companies; the one consisting of London adventurers, whose projected establishment was termed the first or southern colony; the second or northern colony, devolving on a company composed of merchants belonging to Plymouth and Bristol. The territory appropriated to the first or southern colony was generally called Virginia, and preserved that appellation after the second or northern colony obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The adventurers were authorised to transport to their respective territories as many English subjects as might be willing to accompany them, and to make shipments of arms and provisions for their use,—with exemption from customs for the space of seven years. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same liberties and privileges in the American settlements as if they had remained or been born in England.¹

1606. The administration of each of the colonies was committed to two boards of council; the supreme government being vested in a board resident in England, which was to be nominated by the king, and directed in its proceedings by such ordinances as he might enact; and a subordinate jurisdiction, which included the functions of executive power, devolving on a colonial council, which, like the other, was to be created by royal appointment, and regulated by the inspiration of royal wisdom and control. Liberty to search for and open mines (which, under all the feudal governments, were supposed to have been originally reserved to the sovereign), was conferred on the colonists,—with an appropriation, however, of part of the mineral produce to the crown: and the more valuable privilege of unrestrained freedom of trade with other nations was also extended to them. The president and council within the colonies

tenor of
their char-
ters.

¹ This provision (whether suggested by the caution of the prince or the apprehension of the colonists) occurs in almost all the colonial charters. It is, however, omitted in the most elaborate of them all, the charter of Pennsylvania, which was attentively revised and adjusted by that eminent lawyer the Lord Keeper Guildford. When King William was about to renew the charter of Massachusetts, after the British Revolution, he was advised by the ablest lawyers in England that such a provision was nugatory; the law necessarily inferring (they declared) that the colonists were Englishmen, and both entitled to the rights, and obliged to the duties attached to that character. Chalmers's Annals.

were authorised to levy duties on foreign commodities, which, for twenty-one years, were to be applied to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.¹

CHAP.
I.
1606.

The terms of this charter afford an illustration both of the character of the monarch who granted, and of the designs of the persons who procured it. By neither of these parties, was the foundation of a great and opulent society intended or foreseen. The arbitrary spirit of the royal granter is discernible in the subjection of the emigrant body to a corporation in which they were not represented, and over whose deliberations they possessed no control. There is likewise a manifest inconsistency between the reservation to the colonists of all the privileges of Englishmen, and the ascription of legislative power exclusively to the king,—the control of whose legislative functions constitutes the most valuable political privilege that Englishmen enjoy. But we have no reason to suppose that the charter was unacceptable to the patentees: on the contrary, its most objectionable provisions are not more congenial to the character of the king than conformable to the views which the leading members of that body plainly appear to have entertained. Their object (notwithstanding the more liberal designs professed in the charter) was rather to explore the continent and appropriate its supposed treasures by the agency of a body of adventurers over whom they retained a complete control, than to establish a permanent and extensive settlement. The instructions to the provincial governors which accompanied the second shipment despatched by the London company, demonstrated, very disagreeably to the wiser emigrants, and very injuriously to the rest, that the purposes with which their rulers were mainly engrossed, were not patient industry and colonization, but territorial discovery and hasty gain.² In furtherance of these views the leading patentees were careful, by mixing no women with the first emigrants, to retain the colony in dependence upon England for its supplies of people, and to give free scope to the cupidity and the roving spirit of minds undivided by the hopes and unfixed by the habits and attachments of domestic life.

¹ Stith. Hazard.

² Smith.

BOOK

I.

1606.

Royal code
of laws

Nov.

The king appears to have entertained more liberal ideas and a more genuine purpose of colonization than the patentees. While their leaders were employed in making preparations to reap the benefits of their charter, James was assiduously engaged in the task, which his vanity rendered a rich enjoyment, and the well guarded liberties of England a rare one, of digesting a code of laws, for the projected colonies. This code, issued under the sign manual and privy seal, enjoined the preaching of the gospel in America, and the performance of divine worship, in conformity with the doctrines and rites of the church of England. Legislative and executive functions within the colonies were conferred on the provincial councils; but with this controlling provision, that laws originating there should in substance be consonant to the English laws; that they should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England; and that their penal inflictions should not extend to death or demembration. Persons attempting to withdraw the colonists from their allegiance to the English crown, were to be imprisoned; or, in cases highly aggravated, to be remitted for trial to England. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion, murder, and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these offences the culprit was to be tried by a jury. Summary trial was appointed for inferior misdemeanours, and their punishment entrusted to the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden by the same tenures that were established in England; but for five years after the plantation of each colony, a community of labour and gains was to have place among the colonists. Kindness to the heathen inhabitants of America, and the communication of religious instruction to them, were enjoined. And finally, power was reserved to the king and his successors to enact further laws, in consistence, always, with the jurisprudence of England.¹

These regulations in the main are creditable to the sovereign who composed them. No attempt was made, nor right pretended, to legislate for the Indian tribes of America; and if the ancient territories, which these savages rather claimed than occupied, were appropriated and disposed of without any

¹ Stith.

regard to their pretensions, at least, no jurisdiction was assumed over their actions, and, in point of personal liberty, they were regarded as an independent people. This was an advance in equity beyond the practice of the Spaniards, and the ideas of queen Elizabeth, whose patent asserted the jurisdiction of the English crown and laws over the old as well as the new inhabitants of her projected colonies. In the criminal legislation of this code, we may observe a distinction which trial by jury has enabled to prevail over that ingenious and perhaps expedient rule of ancient colonial policy, which intrusted proconsular governors with the power of inflicting death, but restrained them from awarding less formidable penalties, as more likely to give scope to the operation of interest or caprice. If the charter, in some of its provisions, betrayed a total disregard of political liberty, the code, in establishing trial by jury, interwove with the very origin of society a habit and practice well adapted to cherish the spirit and principles of freedom.

The London company to which the plantation of the southern colony was committed, applied themselves immediately to the formation of a colonial settlement. But though many persons of distinction were included among the proprietors, their funds at first were scanty, and their first efforts proportionally feeble. Three small vessels, of which the largest did not exceed a hundred tons burthen¹, under the command of Captain Newport, formed the first squadron that was to execute what had been so long and so vainly attempted; and sailed with a hundred and five men destined to remain in America. Several of these emigrants were members of distinguished families—particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland: and several were officers of reputation—of whom we may notice Bartholomew Gosnold the navigator, and Captain John Smith, one of the most distinguished ornaments of an age that was prolific of memorable men.

Thus at length, after a research fraught with perplexity and disappointment, but assuredly not devoid of interest, into the great sources of the transatlantic commonwealth, we have

CHAP.
I.
1606.

The first
body of co-
lonists em-
barked by
the London
company—
Dec.

¹ Smith.

BOOK I.
1606. reached the first inconsiderable spring, whose progress, feebly opposed to innumerable obstructions, and nearly diverted in its very outset, yet always continuous, expands under the eye of patient inquiry into the majestic stream of American population. After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, was the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five; and this handful of men undertook the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey. Under the sanction of a charter which bereaved Englishmen of their most valuable rights, and banished from the constitution of American society the first principles of liberty, were the foundations laid of the colonial greatness of England, and of the freedom and prosperity of America. From this period, or at least very shortly after, a regular and connected history ensues of the progress of Virginia and New England—the two eldest-born colonies, whose example promoted the rise, as their shelter protected the weakness of the others which were successively planted and reared.

April,
1607,
arrive in
the bay of
Chesa-
peak—

Newport and his squadron, pursuing, for some unknown reason, the original circuitous track to America, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm, which defeated their purpose of landing and settling at Roanoak, and carried them into the bay of Chesapeake. As they advanced through its waters, they easily perceived the advantage that would be gained by establishing their settlement on the shores of this spacious haven, replenished by the tributary floods of so many great rivers which fertilise the soil of that extensive district of America, and, affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontory forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from its mouth. Impressed with the superior advantages of the coast and region

to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighbouring river, the name of their king; and James-Town retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.¹

C H A P.
I.
1607.
found
James-
Town.

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their fortunate territorial position. Their animosities were inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least betrays a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the provincial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but the commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed in their office, and to elect their own president. The disagreements incident to a long voyage, and a body of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative and allotted functions might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, the disclosure was far from giving general satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and spirit had excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from a seat in the council which the commission authorized him to assume, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the persons who preferred it. The privation of his counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset, was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the individual who had been elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the

Dissen-
sions of the
colonists.

Hostility
of the
Indians.

¹ Stith.

B O O K colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one
 1. of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of those
 1607. savages.¹

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, with affected clemency, proposed that he also should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia. But, happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity; and demanding a trial, was honourably acquitted, and took his seat in the council.²

June.

The fleet had been better victualled than the magazines of the colony; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the plenty enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, combining with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September one half of their number had miserably perished; and among these victims was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition, and materially contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of suffering was embittered by internal dissensions. The President was accused of embezzling the public stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnacle and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed to impend alike from famine and the fury of the savages, the colonists obtained a complete and unexpected deliverance, which the piety of Smith ascribed to the influence of God in suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments and purposes of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden change of feeling, not only refrained from molesting them, but gratuitously brought to them a supply of provisions so liberal, as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility.³

Distress
and con-
fusion of
the colony.

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not entirely uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it is

¹ Smith,

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

absorbed by deeper interest and alarm. The sense of common and urgent danger promoted a general submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate his companions from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and all willingly devolved on him the authority which they had formerly shewn so much jealousy of his acquiring. This individual, whose name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America, was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At an early age his lively mind had been deeply smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so strongly in England during the reign of Elizabeth ; and, yielding to his inclination, he had passed through a great variety of military service, with little pecuniary gain, but high reputation, and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardour or tainting his morals.¹ The vigour of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness : the undaunted mettle of his soul retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection ; and his adventurous zeal, which once attracted the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated over the well proportioned qualities of his mind, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the affairs of the colonists, he promptly adopted the only policy that could save them from destruction. Under his directions, James-Town was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages ; and, by dint of great labour, which he was always the foremost to share, its inhabitants were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the interior of the country, where by courtesy and liberality to

C H A P
I.
1607.

Services of
Captain
Smith.

¹ Stith.

B O O K

1.

1697.

He is taken
prisoner by
the In-
dians.

the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorous retribution of the hostility of such as were otherwise minded, he succeeded in procuring a plentiful stock of provisions.¹

In the midst of his successes he was surprised during an expedition by a hostile body of savages, who, having made him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His genius and presence of mind did not desert him in this trying emergency. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief of the tribe to which he was a prisoner; and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which this little instrument had contributed,—described the shape of the earth, the vastness of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from any expression of solicitude for his life, which would infallibly have weakened or counteracted the effect which he hoped to produce. The savages listened to him with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, were prepared by this marvellous object for the reception of those sublime and interesting communications by which their captive endeavoured to gain ascendancy over their minds. For an hour after he had finished his harangue, they seemed to have remained undecided; till, their habitual sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to despatch him with their arrows. But a deeper impression had been made on their chief; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual barbarity. This chief bore the harsh and uncouth appellation of Opechancanough,—a name which the subsequent history of the province was to invest with no small terror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve; and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was

¹ Smith. Stith.

conducted to a dwelling where he was kindly treated and plentifully entertained.¹ But the strongest impressions pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly attempting to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, the Indians referred his fate to Powhatan, the king or principal sachem of the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. This prince received him with much ceremony, ordered a rich repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beaten to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for his execution, Smith was again rescued from impending destruction by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of the king, who finding her first intreaties disregarded, threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous compassion prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe; and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to James-Town, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions that delivered the colony from famine.²

CHAP.
I.
1607.

his liberation.

After an absence of seven weeks Smith returned to James-Town, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, and in which they seemed fated to re-enact the disasters of Roanoak, were preparing to abandon the settlement; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed on them to relinquish their design.³ The provisions that Pocahontas sent to him relieved their present wants; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the Indians revived their hopes; and he endeavoured, by a diligent improvement of the favourable impressions he had made upon the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to promote a union of interests and reciprocation of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful; he preserved plenty among the English, and

He preserves the colony.

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Smith.

³ Ibid.

BOOK 1.
1607. extended his influence and consideration with the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute and establish his dominion, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demi-god; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to tender an abject homage to himself, and to ratify the loftiest pretensions he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow creatures. With uncompromising sincerity he laboured to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware that the man whose superiority they acknowledged, despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from Him, by prayer, the wisdom which they so highly commended. His pious exertions were obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to his own person. Partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his tuition, and, doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and wilful ignorance of the persons whom he attempted to instruct, Smith succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man, to a Being whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith;" and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent deputies to James-Town to entreat that Smith would pray for rain when their idols seemed unwilling or unable to grant them a supply.¹ They were willing enough to believe in gods made after the image of themselves, and in the partial control which these *superior beings* might be supposed to exercise over the affairs of men: but the announcement of an *Almighty Creator*, the great source and support of universal existence, presented a notion which their understandings refused

¹ Smith.

to admit, and required a homage which their hearts revolted from yielding. C H A P. I.

While the affairs of the colony were thus prospering under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of seeds and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. Universal joy was excited among the colonists by this accession to their comforts and their force. But, unhappily, the jealousies which danger had restrained rather than extinguished, reappeared in this ray of prosperity: the ascendancy which Smith exercised over the Indians excited the envy of the very persons whose lives it had preserved; and his authority now began sensibly to decline. Nor was it long before the cessation of his influence, together with the defects in the composition of the new body of emigrants, gave rise to the most serious mischiefs in the colony. The restraints of discipline were relaxed, and a free traffic permitted with the natives, who soon began to complain of fraudulent and unequal dealing, and to display their ancient animosity. In an infant settlement, where the views and pursuits of men are unfixed, and habitual submission to authority has yet to be formed, the well-being, and indeed the existence of society are much more dependent on the manners and moral character of individuals, than on the influence of laws. But in recruiting the population of this colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and occupations which must every where form the basis of national prosperity. This arose, as well from the peculiar views of the proprietors, as from the circumstances of the English people, whose working classes were by no means overcrowded, and among whom, consequently, the persons whose industry and moderation best fitted them to form a new settlement were the least disposed to abandon their native country. Of the recruits who had lately arrived in the colony, a large proportion were *gentlemen*, a few were *labourers*, and several were *jewellers* and *refiners of gold*.¹ Unfortunately, some of this latter description of artists soon found an opportunity of exercising their

 1608.

¹ Smith.

B O O K
I.
1608. peculiar departments of industry, and of demonstrating (but too late) their complete deficiency even of the worthless qualifications which they professed.

The colonists deceived by appearances of gold.

A small stream of water issuing from a bank of sand near James-Town was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment which resembled golden ore, and was fondly mistaken for this precious material by the colonists. Only this discovery was wanting to re-awaken the passions which America had so fatally kindled in the bosoms of her first invaders. The deposition of the ore was supposed to indicate the neighbourhood of a mine; every hand was eager to explore; and considerable quantities of the dust were amassed, and subjected to the scrutiny of ignorance prepossessed by the strongest and most deceptive of human passions, and misled by the blundering guidance of superficial pretenders to superior skill. Smith exerted himself to disabuse his countrymen, and vainly strove to stem the torrent that threatened to devastate all their prospects: assuring them, with prophetic wisdom, that to addict themselves to mining in preference to agriculture, would be to squander in pursuit of a phantom, the exertions on which their subsistence depended. The deceptive dust having undergone an unskillful assay of the refiners who had recently been united to the colony, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality; and from that moment the thirst of gold was inflamed into a rage that reproduced those extravagant excesses, but, happily, without conducting to the same profligate enormities, for which the followers of Cortes and Pizarro had been distinguished. All productive industry was suspended, and the operations of mining occupied the whole conversation, engrossed every thought, and absorbed every effort of the colonists. The two vessels that had brought their late supplies, returning to England, the one laden with this valueless dross, and the other with cedar wood, carried the first remittance that an English colony ever made from America. They carried back with them also some persons who had been invested and despatched to the colony with the absurd appointments of Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, and Justices of the Peace — a supply as useless to America as the remittance of dust was to Europe.¹

June.

¹ Smith. Smith.

Foreseeing the disastrous issue to which the delusion of the CHAP. I. colonists inevitably tended, Captain Smith, in the hope of 1608. preventing some of its most fatal consequences, conceived the project of extending his researches far beyond the range they Smith surveys the bay of Chesapeake— had hitherto attained, and of exploring the whole of the great bay of Chesapeake, for the purpose of ascertaining the qualities and resources of its territories, and promoting a beneficial intercourse with the remoter tribes of its inhabitants. This arduous design he executed with his usual resolution and success; and while his fellow colonists were actively engaged in disappointing the hopes of England, and rivalling the sordid excesses that had characterized the adventurers of Spain, he singly sustained the honour of his country, and, warmed with a nobler emulation, achieved an enterprise that equals the most celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers. When we compare the slenderness of the auxiliary means which he possessed, with the magnitude of the results which he accomplished, the hardships he endured, and the difficulties he overcame, we recognize in this achievement a monument of human power no less eminent than honourable, and willingly transmit a model so well calculated to warm the genius, to animate the fortitude, and sustain the patience of mankind. With his friend, Dr. Russell, and a small company of followers, whose fortitude and perseverance he was frequently obliged to resuscitate, and over whom he possessed no other authority than the ascendant of a vigorous character and superior intelligence, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery that occupied more than four months, and embraced a navigation of above three thousand miles. With prodigious labour and extreme peril, he visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the river Susquehannah; he sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls, and diligently examined the successive territories into which he penetrated, and the various tribes that possessed them. He brought back with him an account so ample, and a plan so accurate, of that great portion of the American continent now comprehended in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, that all the subsequent researches which it has undergone have only expanded and illustrated his original view; and his map has been made the

BOOK I.
 1608. groundwork of all posterior delineations, with no other diversity than what has inevitably arisen from the varieties of appropriation and the progress of settlements. But to come and to see, were not his only objects: to overcome, was also the purpose of his enterprise, and the effect of his exertions. In his intercourse with the various tribes which he visited, he displayed the genius of a commander, in a happy exercise of all those talents that overcome the antipathies of a rude people, and gain at once the respect and good will of mankind. By the wisdom and liberality with which he negotiated and traded with the friendly, and by the courage and vigour with which he repelled and overcame the hostile, he succeeded in inspiring the savages with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation, and paved the way to an intercourse that promised important advantage to the Virginian colony.¹ This was indeed the heroic age of North America: and such were the men, and such the labours, by which the first foundations of her greatness and prosperity were appointed to be laid.

elected president of the colony.
 10th Sept.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams of the colonists were at length dispelled; and they had awaked to all the miseries of sickness, scarcity, disappointment, and discontent, when Smith once more returned to them, to reanimate their spirits with his successes, and relieve their wants by the resources he had created. Immediately after his return, he was chosen president by the council; and, accepting the office, he employed his influence so efficiently with the savages, that present scarcity was banished, and exerted his authority so vigorously and judiciously in the colony, that a spirit of industry and good order began generally to prevail, and gave promise of lasting plenty and steady improvement.¹ If we compare the actions of Smith, during the period of his presidency, with the enterprise that immediately preceded his election, it may appear, at first sight, that the sphere of his exertions was contracted and degraded by this event; and we might almost be tempted to regret the returning reasonableness of the colonists, which, by confining this active spirit to the petty details of their government, withdrew it from a range

¹ Russell, apud Smith. Bagnal, *ed.* loc.

² Stith.

more congenial to its excursive vigour, and more fraught with general advantage to mankind. Yet, reflection might persuade us that a truly great mind, especially when united with an ardent temper, will never be contracted by the seeming restriction of its sphere: it will always be nobly, as well as usefully employed, and not the less nobly when it dignifies what is ordinary, and improves the models that invite the widest imitation, and are most level with human opportunities. Accordingly, when we examine the history of that year over which the official supremacy of Captain Smith was extended, and consider the results of the multifarious details which it embraces,¹ we discern a dignity as real, though less glaring than that which invests his celebrated voyage of discovery; and are sensible of consequences even more interesting to human nature than any which that expedition produced. In a small society, where no great actual inequality of accommodation could exist, where power derived no aid from pomp, circumstance, or mystery, and where he owed his office to the appointment of his associates, and held it by the tenure of their good will,² he preserved order and enforced morality among a crew of dissolute and disappointed men; and so successfully opposed his authority to the allurements of indolence, strengthened by their previous habits and promoted by the community of gains that then prevailed, as to introduce and maintain a respectable degree of laborious, and even contented industry. What one governor afterwards achieved in this respect by the influence of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without such aid, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own superior sense and his matchless vigour and activity. Some plots were formed against him: but these

¹ Smith.

² It was the testimony of his soldiers and fellow adventurers, says Stith, "that he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing he either had or could procure; that he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger;" that in all their expeditions he partook the common fare, and never gave a command that he was not ready to execute; "that he would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or shy, but was open, honest, and sincere." Stith adds, respecting this founder of civilized society in North America, what the son of Columbus has, with a noble elation, recorded of his father, that, though habituated to naval manners, and to the command of factious and licentious men, he was never heard to utter an oath.

- BOOK he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians
 1. assailed him with numberless trials of his temper and capacity.
 1608. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen, who deserted to him from James-Town, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. Some
 1609. of the fraudulent designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of *Pocahontas*; others were detected by Captain Smith: and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honour and success, and yet with little, and only defensive bloodshed; displaying to the Indians a vigour and sagacity they could neither overcome nor overreach—a courage that excited their admiration, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. He was ever superior to that political timidity which in circumstances of danger suggests not the proportionate, but always the strongest and most violent remedy and counteraction; and admirably illustrated the chief political uses of talent and virtue, in accomplishing the objects of government by gentler efforts and milder means than stupidity and ferocity could have ventured to employ. In demonstrating (to use his own words) “what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry¹,” he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes; and in exemplifying the power of a civilized people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory which Cæsar, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind, was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve. There was one point, indeed, in which it must be confessed that his conduct to the Indians was chargeable with defect of justice and good policy; though the blame of this error must be divided between himself and the royal patentees whom he

¹ Smith.

served; and, in addition to other palliating circumstances, was disguised by its conformity with the universal and unimproved practice of European settlers in barbarous lands. No part of the territory which the first colonists occupied was purchased from the tribes who considered themselves its owners, and who probably at first regarded, with little apprehension, the settlement of a handful of strangers in a valueless corner of their wide domains. The colonists, indifferent to the opinion of the Indians, seem never to have apprehended that the important right of property in land could be derived from occasional visitations of savage hunters, and readily took, as from the hands of nature, the territory which appeared to them to have been never reclaimed from its natural wildness and vacancy by deliberate occupation or industrial use. If they had reasoned upon the matter, they would probably have denied the right of the Indians to defeat the chief end of so large a portion of the earth, and restricted to an ignoble ministration to the idle subsistence of a few barbarians, the territory which industry and virtue might render subservient to the diffusion of civility and the extension of life. If, however, they had been actuated by the same equity and moderation which distinguished so many of the later colonists of North America, they might have ascertained that their interests would be at once more cheaply and more humanely promoted by recognizing than by disputing the pretensions of the Indians; who, if they claimed land by a title which Europeans accounted unworthy of respect, were generally willing to part with it for a price which Europeans found it very easy to pay. It was reserved for the Puritan fathers of New England to set the first example of more liberal justice, and more impartial consideration of the rights of mankind; and, by a transaction, in which sound policy and refined morality were excellently blended, to mediate an amicable agreement between their own wants and the claim which the Indians asserted on the territorial resources of the country.

Captain Smith was not permitted to complete the work which he had so well begun. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a

CHAP.
I.
1609.

BOOK happy and respectable community, had fondly counted on the
 I. accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter
 1609. passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals. In these hopes they had been hitherto disappointed; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of the expenditure which they had already incurred. The prospect of a settled and improving state of society at James-Town, so far from meeting their wishes, threatened to promote the growth of habits and interests perfectly incompatible with them. Still hoping, therefore, to realise their avaricious dreams, they conceived it necessary for this purpose to resume all authority into their own hands, and to abolish all jurisdiction originating in America.¹ In order to fortify their pretensions, as well as to increase their funds, they now courted the acquisition of additional associates; and, having strengthened their interests by the accession of some persons of the highest rank and influence in the nation, they applied for and obtained a new charter.

New charter.
 23d May.

If the arbitrary introduction of a new charter avowed an entire disregard of the rights of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the original one, the provisions peculiar to the new charter demonstrated no less plainly the intention of restricting the privileges of those emigrants, and increasing their dependence on the English patentees. The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a great multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, and sundry of the corporations of London, in addition to the former adventurers; and the whole body was incorporated by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." The boundaries of the colonial territory and the power of the corporation were enlarged; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished; a new council was established in England, and the company empowered to fill all future vacancies in it by election; and to this council was committed the power of new-modelling the

¹ Smith.

magistracy of the colony, of enacting all the laws that were to have place in it, and nominating all the officers by whom these laws were to be carried into execution. Nevertheless, was it still formally stipulated that the colonists and their posterity should retain all the rights of Englishmen. To prevent the doctrines of the church of Rome from gaining admission into the plantation, it was declared that no persons would be allowed to settle in Virginia without having previously taken the oath of supremacy.¹

The new council appointed Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of the colony; and the hopes inspired by the distinguished rank, and respectable character of this nobleman, contributed to strengthen the company by a considerable accession of funds and associates. Availing themselves of the favourable disposition of the public, they equipped without loss of time a squadron of nine ships, and despatched them with five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who was authorised to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. But by an unlucky combination of caution and indiscretion, the same powers were severally intrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, without any adjustment of precedence between the three functionaries; and they, finding themselves unable to settle this point among themselves, agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage,—thus deliberately hazarding and eventually producing the disappointment of the main object which their association in authority was intended to secure. The vessel that contained the triumvirate was separated from the fleet by a storm, and stranded on the coast of Bermudas.² The residue of the squadron arrived safely at James-Town: but so little were they expected, that when they were first descried at sea, they were mistaken for enemies; and this rumour gave occasion to

CHAP.
I.
1609.

Lord Delaware appointed governor.

Newport, Gates, and Somers sent out to assume the command till his arrival—

are wrecked on the coast of Bermudas.

¹ Stith. Hazard.

² It was probably this disaster which produced the only allusion which Shakespeare ever makes to the American regions. In "The Tempest," which was composed about three years after this period, *Ariel* celebrates the stormy coast of "the still vex'd Bermudas."

BOOK 1. a very satisfactory proof of the friendly disposition of the Indians, who came forward with the utmost alacrity, and offered to fight in defence of the colony.¹

1609.

These apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial community. A great proportion of these new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths, sent from England by their friends with the hope of changing their destinies, or for the purpose of screening them from the justice or contempt of their country; of indigent gentlemen too proud to beg, and too lazy to work; tradesmen of broken fortunes and broken spirit; idle retainers whom the great were eager to get rid of; and dependents too infamous to be decently protected at home; with others, like these, more likely to corrupt and prey upon an infant commonwealth than to improve or sustain it.² The leaders of this pernicious crew, though totally unprovided with legal documents, entitling them either to assume or supersede existing authority, proclaimed the changes which the constitution of the colony had undergone, and proceeded to execute that part of the innovation which consisted in the overthrow of the provincial presidency and council. Their conduct soon demonstrated that their title to assume authority was not more defective than their capacity to exercise it. Investing themselves with the power, they were unable to devise any frame of government, or establish even among themselves any fixed subordination: sometimes the old commission was resorted to; sometimes a new model attempted; and the chief direction of affairs passed from hand to hand in one uninterrupted succession of folly and presumption. The whole colony was thrown into confusion by the revolutionary state of its government; and the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by the turbulence, injustice, and insolence of the new settlers.

This emergency summoned the man who had so often rescued the settlement from ruin, again to attempt its deliverance.

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Stith.

The call was seconded by the wishes of the best and wisest of the colonists; and, aided as much by the vigour of his own character, as by the co-operation of these individuals, Smith once more assumed his natural ascendant and official supremacy, and declared his intention of retaining the authority created by the old commission till a legal revocation of it, and legitimate successors to himself, should arrive. With decisive energy, he imprisoned the chief promoters of tumult; and having restored order and obedience, endeavoured to prevent a recurrence of the former mischiefs by detaching from James-Town a portion of the new colonists to form a subordinate settlement at some distance from this place. This was an unfortunate step; and it is remarkable that the only signal failure in the policy of this eminent commander was evinced in the only instance in which he seemed to distrust his own vigour and capacity. The detachments which he removed from James-Town conducted themselves so imprudently as to convert all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, and to involve themselves in continual difficulty and danger. The Indians assailed him with complaints; the detached settlers with requisitions of counsel and assistance: and Smith, who never spent in lamenting misfortunes the time that might be employed in repairing them, was exerting himself with his usual vigour and good sense in redressing these disorders, when he received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid in the colony, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure for England¹. He never returned to Virginia again. It was natural that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved,—the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as those which obstructed the infant progress of Carthage or Rome,—and the scenes which he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection, that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subor-

CHAP.
I.
1609.

Captain
Smith re-
turns to
England.
October.

¹ Smith. Stith.

BOOK dine office,¹ and might have deprived the world of that
1. stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that
1609. accession of fame,² which the publication of his travels has
secured and perpetuated.

¹ See Note II. at the end of the volume.

² He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatised and represented on the stage, to his own great annoyance. Stith.

CHAPTER II.

The Colony a Prey to Anarchy—and Famine.—Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas.—Abandonment of the Colony determined—prevented by the Arrival of Lord Delaware.—His wise Administration—his Return to England.—Sir Thomas Dale's Administration.—Martial Law established.—Indian Chief's Daughter seized by Argal—married to Rolfe.—Right of private Property in Land introduced into the Colony.—Expedition of Argal against Port Royal and New York.—Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists.—First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia.—New Constitution of the Colony.—Introduction of Negro Slavery.—Migration of young Women from England to Virginia.—Dispute between the King and the Colony.—Conspiracy of the Indians.—Massacre of the Colonists.—Dissensions of the London Company.—The Company dissolved.—The King assumes the Government of the Colony—his Death.—Charles I. pursues his Father's arbitrary Policy.—Tyrannical Government of Sir John Harvey.—Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor.—The provincial Liberties restored.—Virginia espouses the Royal Cause—subdued by the Long Parliament.—Restraints imposed on the Trade of the Colony.—Revolt of the Colony.—Sir William Berkeley resumes the Government.—Restoration of Charles II.

AT the period of Smith's departure, the infant commonwealth was composed of five hundred persons, and amply provided with all necessary stores of arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture¹: but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting; and, with him, its good fortune departed. For a short time the command was entrusted to George Percy, a man of worth, but devoid of the vigour that gives efficacy to virtue: and the direction of affairs soon relapsed into the same mischievous channel from which Smith had recalled it. The colony was delivered up to the wildest excesses of a seditious and distracted rabble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. The magazines of food were quickly exhausted; and the Indians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so

CHAP.
II.
1609.

The colony
a prey to
anarchy—

¹ Stith.

BOOK
I.

1610.
and fa-
mine.

so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual attacks. Famine ensued, and completed their misery and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and compelling them to support their lives by feeding on the bodies of the Indians they had killed, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith, there remained no more than sixty persons alive at James-Town, still prolonging their wretchedness by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close.¹

May.

Gates and
Somers ar-
rive from
Bermudas.

In this calamitous state was the colony found by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas, where the shipwreck they encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months.² The bounty of nature in that happy region maintained them in comfort while they constructed the vessels that were to transport them to James-Town, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony; but they had neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in the expectation of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of ascertaining the causes of the desolation they beheld, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjustment of complaints. It was immediately determined to abandon the settlement; and with this view all the people embarked in the vessels that had arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such horror was entertained by some of the colonists for the scene of their misery that they were importunate with the commanders for leave to burn the fort and houses at James-Town. But Sir Thomas Gates could not find in their or his own distresses any reason for demolishing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers;

Abandon-
ment of
the colony
deter-
mined—

¹ Slith.

² Smith.

and happily, by his interposition, they were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves.¹

CHAP.
II.
1610.

For it was not the will of Providence that this settlement should perish: the calamities with which it had been visited were appointed to punish merely, but not utterly to destroy; and the more worthless members being now cut off, and a memorable lesson afforded both to the patrons who collect², and the members who compose such communities, a deliverance no less signal was vouchsafed by the Disposer of all events, just when hope was over, and the colony advanced to the very brink of annihilation. Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James River, they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample stock of every implement and commodity requisite for defence or cultivation.³

prevented
by the ar-
rival of
Lord De-
laware.

Lord Delaware, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was singularly well fitted for the exigency of the situation in which he was thus unexpectedly involved. To an ancient lineage and a title of nobility, in an age when such distinctions were regarded with much veneration, he joined a dignified demeanour, a disinterested character, respectable sense, and a resolute temper. The hope of rendering an important service to his country, and the generous pleasure of co-operating in a great design, had induced him to exchange his ease and splendor at home for a situation, of the general difficulties of which he was perfectly aware: and the same firmness and elevation of purpose preserved him undaunted and unperplexed by the unlooked-for scene of calamity which he encountered on his arrival in Virginia. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives to James-Town, and began his administration by attendance on Divine worship. After some consultation on the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists to-

¹ Smith. Stith.

² The fate of this settlement probably suggested to Lord Bacon the following passage in his essay on Plantations. "It is a shameful and unblest thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom we plant: and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals."

³ Smith. Stith.

BOOK I.
 1611. together, and addressed them in a short but judicious and impressive harangue. He rebuked the folly, sloth, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and recommended a return to the virtues most likely to repair them : he declared his determination not to hold the sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, though he would infinitely rather (he protested) shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department, and allotted to every man his particular station and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction; and the factious humours of the multitude soon appeared to have entirely subsided beneath the dignity and the prudent and resolute policy of Lord Delaware's administration. The deference which had been reluctantly extorted by the superior talent and genius of Smith, was more willingly yielded to claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation, more palpable to the apprehension, and less offensive to the self-complacency of the mass of mankind. By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and command submission, Lord Delaware succeeded in maintaining peace and good order in the settlement,—in awakening a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists,—and in again impressing the dread and reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all that he was permitted to accomplish. Oppressed by diseases occasioned by the climate, he was compelled to quit the country; having first committed the administration of this authority to George Percy.¹

His wise
 adminis-
 tration—

his return
 to Eng-
 land.

March.

May.
 Sir Thomas
 Dale's ad-
 ministra-
 tion—

The restoration of Percy to the official dignity which he had once before enjoyed, seems to have been attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have issued in a repetition of the same disorders, that had so fatally distinguished his former presidency. But happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England before Lord Delaware's return, with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorised him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the

¹ Stith. Lord Delaware's Discourse, apud Smith.

chief command. This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What Dale could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled to produce by a system of notable rigour and severity. A code of rules and articles had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline then subsisting in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted by him to the governor.¹ This code did not long remain inoperative. Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the established law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he administered its provisions with great rigour, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have been requisite for the general safety. The wisdom and honour of the governor, who thus became the first depositary of those formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, seem to have prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so arbitrary and despotic was calculated to provoke. Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governors were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline and steady but moderate execution of the martial code, that had been introduced by Dale; and under the directions of Dale, who continued in the country and cheerfully occupied a subordinate station, various detached parties of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James River, and at some distance from James-Town.²

CHAP.
II.
1612.

Martial
law esta-
blished.

August.

An application was now made by the company of patentees 1612.

¹ Stith. Nothing can be more fanciful or erroneous than Dr. Robertson's account of the introduction of this system, which without the slightest authority he ascribes to the advice of Lord Bacon, and, in opposition to all evidence, represents as the act of the company. See Note III. at the end of the volume.

² Smith. Stith.

BOOK

I.

1612.

March.

to the king, for an enlargement of their territory and jurisdiction. The accounts they had received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and convenience of this region, impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the benefit of Virginia.¹ Their request was granted without difficulty; and a new charter was issued, investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the Virginian coast. Some innovations were made at the same time, in the structure and forms of the corporation; the term of exemption from customs was prolonged; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons deserting the settlement, in violation of their engagements; and for the more effectual advancement of the colony and indemnification of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England.² The lottery which was established in virtue of this license, was the first institution of the kind that had ever received public countenance in England: it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, but loaded this body with the reproach of defrauding the people, and corrupting their manners. The House of Commons, which then represented the sense and guarded the morality of England, remonstrated against the permission of the lottery, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic; and the license was soon after recalled.³ Happy if their example had been copied by later times, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administration by a system of chicane, promoting in their subjects those gambling tastes and habits which dissolve industry and virtue, and frequently beget even the most atrocious crimes! Notwithstanding the eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda Islands, they did not long retain this territory, but sold it to a junto of their own associates, who were united by royal charter into a separate corporation, named the Somer-Islands Company.⁴

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person

¹ Stith. About this time the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the colony: but the money was diverted to other purposes; and it was not till some years after that churches were built in Virginia.—Oldmixon.

² Stith.

³ Chalmers's Annals.

⁴ Stith.

of its own deliverer Captain Smith, by Pocahontas the daughter of the Indian king Powhatan. This princess had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now again to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at James-Town, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighbouring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the shores of the river Potomac in quest of a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him ; and hoping, by possession of her person, to obtain such an ascendant over Powhatan, as would insure an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her, by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to James-Town, where she was detained in a state of honourable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom : he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers who still kept his daughter a prisoner ; declaring, nevertheless, that if she were restored to him he would forget the injury, and feeling himself at liberty to regard the authors of it as friends, would gratify all their wishes. The colonists, however, were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them ; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from an unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage nor relinquish with safety,—when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a happy and surprising change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who has been described as a woman possessed of uncommon beauty, gained the affections of a young man named Rolfe, a person of rank and estimation among the planters, who forthwith offered her his hand, and with her approbation, and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage. This the old prince readily bestowed, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This fortunate event also enabled the provincial government to conclude a

CHAP.
II.

1612.

Indian
chief's
daughter
seized by
Argal—married to
Rolfe.

BOOK I. treaty with the Chicahominies, a horde distinguished by their bravery and their military experience, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward Englishmen,—to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.¹

1613. But a material change, which now took place in the interior arrangements of the colony, contributed to establish its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, languished under the discouraging influence of that community of property and gains which had been introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter. As a temporary expedient, this system could not have been easily avoided; and the censure which historians have so liberally bestowed on its introduction seems to be far from reasonable. The impolicy consisted in prolonging its duration beyond the time when the colony acquired stability,—when modes and habits of life came to be fixed,—and when the resources of the place and the productive powers of labour being fully understood, the government might safely and advantageously have remitted every individual to the stimulus of his own interest and dependence on his own exertions. But, in the outset, it was necessary, or at least highly expedient, that the government should charge itself with the support of its subjects and the regulation of their industry; and that their first experimental exertions should be referred to the principle and adapted to the rules of a system of partnership. How long such a system may endure, when originated and maintained by a strong and general impulse of that Christian spirit which teaches every man to regard his office on earth as a trust, his life as a stewardship, and the superiority of his faculties and advantages as designating, not the enlargement of his privileges, but the extent of his responsibility, is a problem to be solved by the future history of mankind. But as a permanent arrangement, supported only by municipal law, it attempts an impossibility, and commits its practical adminis-

Right of
private pro-
perty in
land intro-
duced into
the colony.

¹ Smith. Stith.

² Stith.

tration to an influence destructive of its own principles. As soon as the sense of individual interest and security begins to dissolve the bond of common hazard, danger, and difficulty. the law is felt to be an irksome and injurious restriction: but as in theory it retains a generous aspect, and the first symptoms of its practical inconvenience are the idleness and immorality promoted by its secret suggestions, it is not surprising that rulers should seek to remove the effect while they preserve the cause, and even by additional severities of regulation extinguish every remains of the virtue they vainly attempt to rekindle.

CHAP.
II.
1613.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to observe with an accurate and unprejudiced eye the operation of the provincial laws on the dispositions of the colonists; and soon discovered the violent repugnance between a system which enforced community of property and all the ordinary motives by which human industry is maintained. He saw that every one was eager to evade or abridge his own share of labour; that the universal reliance on the common stock impaired, universally, the diligence and activity on which the accumulation of that stock depended; that the slothful trusted to the exertions of the industrious, while the industrious were deprived of alacrity by impatience of supporting and confirming the slothful in their idleness; and that the most conscientious citizen would hardly perform as much labour for the community in a week as he would for himself in a day. Under Dale's direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy: a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was assigned in full property to every settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony experienced a steady and rapid advancement.¹ Gates returning to England, the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems never to have enlarged with the extension of his authority. He continued for two years longer in the

1614.

¹ Smith. Stith.

B O O K

1.

1614.

Expedi-
tions of
Argal
against
Port Royal
and New
York.

colony ; and in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare ; but he launched into foreign operations little productive of advantage, and still less of honour. In Captain Argal, the author of the fortunate seizure of Pocahontas, he found a fit instrument, and perhaps a counsellor, of designs of a similar character. The French settlers in Acadie had, in the year 1605, built Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy, and had ever since retained quiet possession of the adjacent country, and successfully cultivated a friendly intercourse with the neighbouring Indians. Under the pretext that the French, by settling in Acadie, had invaded the rights which the English derived from prior discovery of the continent, was Argal despatched, in a season of profound peace, to make a hostile attack on Port Royal. Nothing could be more unjust or unwarranted than this enterprise. The Virginian charters, with the protection of which alone Sir Thomas Dale was intrusted, did not embrace the territory which he now presumed to invade, and which the French had peaceably possessed for nearly ten years, in virtue of charters from their sovereign Henry the Fourth. Argal easily succeeded in surprising and plundering a community totally unsuspecting of hostility and unprepared for defence ; but as he established no garrison in the place, the French soon resumed their station,¹ and the expedition produced no other permanent effect than the indignant recollections it left in the minds of the French, and the unfavourable impression it produced on the Indians. Returning from this expedition, Argal undertook and achieved a similar enterprise against New York, which was then in possession of the Dutch, whose claim was derived from Captain Hudson's visit to the territory in 1609, when he commanded one of their vessels, and was employed in their service. Argal, however, maintained, that as Hudson was an Englishman by birth, the benefit of his discovery had accrued by indefeasible right to his native country ; and the Dutch governor being unprepared for resistance, was compelled to submit, and declare the colony a dependency of England, and tributary to Virginia. But another

¹ Stith. Escarbot's Hist. of New France. Purchas. Argal's piratical attack on Port Royal was revenged by the French on Captain Smith in the following year. See B. ii. cap. i. *post*.

governor arriving soon after, with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the concession was retracted, and the English claim successfully defied.¹

One of the first objects to which the increasing industry of the colonists was directed was the cultivation of tobacco, which was now for the first time introduced into Virginia. King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this herb, and in his celebrated treatise entitled *Counterblast against Tobacco*, endeavoured to prevail over one of the strongest tastes of human nature by the force of pedantic fustian and reasoning as ridiculous as the title of his performance. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than his wishes : his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the solicitation and evidence of their own senses : and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and guarded the soil of England from pollution, by forbidding the domestic culture of tobacco, he found it impossible to withstand its importation from abroad : the demand for it continually extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England. Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labour almost exclusively to the production of this commodity. Sir Thomes Dale observing their inconsiderate ardour, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions, on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to check the excesses of the planters ; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure, his wise policy was neglected and his regulations forgotten ; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers that even the streets of James-Town were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. The colonists, unable to devise any better remedy for this evil than the renewal of exactions upon the Indians, involved themselves in disputes and hostilities which gradually alienated the regards of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes

1615.
Tobacco
cultivated
by the
colonists.

1616.

¹ Stith. See the History of New York in Book v. *post*.

B O O K. of vengeance which they are noted for forming with impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice, and executing with unrelenting ferocity.¹ This fatal effect was not experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals which to careless eyes appear to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful sense of that strong, unbroken chain which, subsisting unimpaired by time or distance, preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.

But a nobler produce than any that her physical soil could supply, was to grace the dawn of civilization in Virginia: and we are now to contemplate the first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to obtain the most signal development from the progress of American society. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he had committed the government of the province to George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the advantages of freedom. He was succeeded by Captain 1617.² Argal, a man of considerable talent and activity, but sordid, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some politic regulations of the traffic and intercourse with the Indians; but he confined the liberty of the people by needless and minute restrictions, and enforced a practical conformity to them by harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he pretended to promote piety in others by punishing absence from ecclesiastical ordinances with a temporary servitude, he postponed in his own practice every other consideration to the

¹ Smith. Stith. Purchas. In the year 1615 was published at London. "A true Discourse of the present State of Virginia." by Ralph Hamar, secretary to the colony; a tract which has no other merit but its rarity.

² In the present year died Pocahontas. She had accompanied her husband on a visit to England, where her history excited much interest, and the grace and dignity of her manner no less respect and admiration. Captain Smith introduced her to the queen, and her society was courted by the most eminent of the nobility. But the mean soul of the king regarded her with jealousy; and he expressed alternate murmurs at Rolfe's presumption in marrying a princess, and alarm at the title that his posterity might acquire to the sovereignty of Virginia. Pocahontas died in the faith, and with the sentiments and demeanour, of a Christian. Smith. Stith. She left a son by Mr. Rolfe, whose posterity, says a modern historian of Virginia, "are not unworthy of their royal ancestry."—Campbell.

acquisition of wealth, which he pursued by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration; and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. In Lord Delaware, their interests had always found a zealous friend and powerful advocate; and he now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists: yet it was, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them that an administration of such pomp and dignity was thus seasonably intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men whose rank and manners were nearer the level of their own condition; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what he would most probably have been unable to accomplish. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Yeardley, this new governor received the honour of knighthood, and repaired to the scene of his administration.¹

CHAP.
II.
1618.

April,
1619.

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, plainly perceived that it was impossible to compose the prevalent jealousy of arbitrary power and impatience for liberty, or to conduct his own administration in a satisfactory manner, without reinstating the colonists in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen; and accordingly, to their inexpressible joy, he promptly signified his intention of convoking a provincial assembly, framed with all possible analogy to the parliament of the Parent State. This first representative legislature that America ever beheld, consisted of the governor, the council, and a number of burgesses, elected by the seven existing boroughs, who, assembling at James-Town, in one apartment, discussed all matters that concerned the general welfare, and conducted their deliberations with good sense, moderation, and harmony.

First assembly of representatives convened in Virginia.

¹ Smith. Stith.

BOOK
I.June,
1619.New con-
stitution of
the colony.

The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant: but it is asserted by competent judges that they were, in the main, wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical.¹ The company some time after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and ratified this constitution of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the nomination of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the legislative assembly; and they provided, on the one hand, that the enactments of the assembly should not have the force of law till sanctioned by the court of proprietors in England; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the provincial assembly.² Thus early was planted in America, that representative system which forms the soundest political frame wherein the spirit of liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly embued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with those generous principles which were rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their native country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

It had been happy for the morals and the welfare of Virginia, if her inhabitants, like their brethren in Massachusetts, had oftener elevated their eye from subordinate agency to the great First Cause, and had referred, in particular, the signal blessing that was now bestowed on them to the will and bounty of God. Liberty so derived, acquires at once its firmest and noblest basis,—it becomes respected as well as beloved; the dignity of the origin to which it is referred, influences the ends to which it is rendered instrumental; and all are taught

¹ Rolfe, apud Smith. Stith. The assembly, when they transmitted their own enactments to England, requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the laws of England, and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding, "that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him."—Chalmers.

² Stith. Hazard.

to feel that it can neither be violated nor abused without provoking the Divine displeasure. It is this preservative principle alone which, recognizing in the abundance of Divine goodness the extent of the Divine claims, prevents the choicest blessings and most admirable talents from cherishing in human hearts an ungrateful and counteracting spirit of insolence and pride—a spirit which led the Virginians too soon to plant the rankest weeds of tyranny in that field where the seeds of liberty had been so happily sown.

The company of patentees had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle dissolute persons who were in prison for various misdemeanours in London.¹ These men were dispersed through the province as servants to the planters; and the degradation of the provincial character and manners, produced by such an intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the advantage that was expected from so many additional and unpaid labourers. Having once associated felons with their pursuits, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the temptation which speedily presented itself, and to blend in barbarous combination the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, arriving in James River, sold to the planters a part of her cargo of Negroes;² and as this hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia was composed of men degraded to a state of slavery by the selfishness and ungrateful barbarity of others, who, embracing the gifts without imbibing the beneficence of their Creator, turned into a scene of bondage for their fellows the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.

But, about this time, another addition, more productive of

¹ Stith. Captain Smith observes, that since his departure from the colony, the number of felons and vagabonds transported to Virginia brought such evil report on the place “that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, *and were.*” “This custom,” says Stith, “hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia, fit only for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people.”

² Beverley, Hist. of Virginia.

B O O K

I.

1620.

virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to cross the Atlantic; and the English being restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests, and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners, were generally destitute of the comforts and connexions of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, and must have generally entertained the purpose of returning to their native country after amassing as expeditiously as possible a competency of wealth. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism: and in conformity with the more liberal policy which the company had now begun to pursue towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were sent; and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested by the emptiness of their exchequer in the following year, when sixty more were collected and transported. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a larger profit than the first. The price of a wife was estimated first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, which was then sold at three shillings per pound. The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example; and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading consequently among the planters, enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony.¹ To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money had been col-

1621.

¹ Stith. This interesting branch of traffic appears to have subsisted for many years, during which its seeming indelicacy was qualified as far as possible by the nice attention that was paid to the ascertainment of the moral character of every woman aspiring to become a Virginian matron. In the year 1632, by an order of the provincial council, two young women who had been seduced during their passage from England, were ordered to be sent back, as "unworthily to propagate the race of Virginians."—Burk's History of Virginia.

lected by the English bishops by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the christian education of Indian children; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the company towards the foundation of a provincial college, which was afterwards completed in the reign of William and Mary.

It is remarkable that the rise of liberty in North America was nearly coeval with the first dispute between her inhabitants and the government of the mother country. With the increasing industry of the colony, the produce of its tobacco fields became more than sufficient for the supply of England, where its disposal, too, was vexatiously restricted by the wavering and arbitrary policy of the king, in granting monopolies for the sale of it,—in limiting the quantities to be imported,—in appointing commissioners “for garbling the drug called tobacco,” with arbitrary powers to seize whatever portions of it they might consider of inferior quality,—in loading the importation with a heavy duty, and, at the same time, encouraging the import of tobacco from Spain. The company, harassed by these absurd and iniquitous restraints, had opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses there, to which they sent their tobacco directly from Virginia; but the king interposed to prohibit such evasion of his revenue, and directed that all the Virginian tobacco should be brought in the first instance to England. A lengthened and acrimonious dispute arose between this feeble prince and the colonists and colonial corporation. Against the monopoly established in England, they petitioned the House of Commons; and in support of their practice of trading directly with Holland, they both contended for the general right of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market they could find, and pleaded the particular concessions of their own charter, which expressly conferred on them unlimited liberty of commerce. At length, the dispute was adjusted by a compromise, by which the company obtained, on the one hand, the exclusive right of importing tobacco into the kingdom, and engaged, on the other, to pay an import duty of ninepence per pound, and to send all tobacco the produce of Virginia to England.¹

C H A P.
II.
1621.

Disputes
between
the king
and the co-
lony.

¹ Stith.

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony; and even the circumstances that were thought most forcibly to betoken the prosperity of its inhabitants, were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. At peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of a fertile territory,—their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own peculiar taste or convenience in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighbourhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact.¹ In the Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, they might have found ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state; and from their own experience, they might have derived the strongest assurance that the savages by whom they were surrounded could claim no exemption from this testimony of Divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labours by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been corrected, and the military exercises and precautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the English settlers; who, moreover, contributed to foster the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with fire-arms, which they very soon learned to use with dexterity. The marriage of the planter Rolfe to the Indian princess had not produced as lasting a friendship between the English and the Indians as it had at first seemed to portend. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were painfully stung by the disdain with which the English receded from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women.² The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who sacredly embalmed the memory of every affront in lasting, stern, wordless, and implacable resentment. Earnest recommendations had repeatedly been transmitted from England

¹ Smith.² Beverley.

to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been promoted by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their accomplishment. Yet neither were they entirely neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals: and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the dreadful calamity that was impending; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as welcome and familiar guests.¹ It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with deliberate and unrelenting ferocity, the project of a general massacre of the English, which devoted every man, woman, and child in the colony to indiscriminate destruction. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing a scheme so detestable into the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and conducting it. Opechancanough, who succeeded to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, and possessed extensive influence over all the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the European colonists of America. He renewed the pacific treaty² which Powhatan had concluded with the English after the marriage of his daughter to Rolfe; and he availed himself of the security into which it lulled the objects of his guile, to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy which he contemplated. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture

C H A P.
II.
1622.

Conspiracy
of the In-
dians.

¹ Stith.—To the remonstrances of certain of the colonists against their worship of demons, some of the Indians of Virginia answered that they believed in two great spirits, a good and an evil one; that the first was a being sunk in the enjoyment of everlasting indolence and ease, who showered down blessings indiscriminately from the skies, leaving men to scramble for them as they chose, and totally indifferent to their concerns; but that the second was an active jealous spirit, whom they were obliged to propitiate, that he might not destroy them.—Oldmixon.

² Stith.—Opechancanough, in imitation of the English, had built himself a house, and was so delighted with the contrivance of a lock and key, that he used to spend whole hours in the repetition of the experiment of locking and unlocking his door.—Oldmixon.

BOOK 1.
1622. to intrust with the design, were successively gained over; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of Indian conspiracy and revenge. In a tribe of savage idolaters, the passions of men are left unpurified by the influence of religion, and unrestrained by a sound or elevated morality; and human character is not subjected to that variety of impulse and impression which it undergoes in civilized society. The sentiments inculcated, and the dispositions contracted, in the family and in the tribe, in domestic education and in public life, in all the scenes through which the savage passes from his cradle to his grave, are the same; there is no contest of opposite principles or conflicting habits to dissipate his mind or weaken its determinations; and the system of morals (if it may be so called) which he embraces, being the offspring of wisdom and dispositions congenial to his own, a seeming dignity of character arises from the vigour and consistency of that conduct which his moral sentiments never disturb or reproach. The understanding, neither refined by variety of knowledge, nor elevated by the grandeur of its contemplations, instead of moderating the passions, becomes the abettor of their violence and the instrument of their gratification. Men in malice, but children in understanding; it is in the direction of fraud and cunning, that the intellectual faculties of savages are chiefly exercised: and so perfect is the harmony between their passions and their reflective powers, that the same delay which would mitigate the ferocity of more cultivated men, serves but to harden their cruelty, and mature the devices for its indulgence. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the continual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved by the Indians; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.¹

An incident which, though minute, is too curious to be

¹ Stith.

omitted, contributed to stimulate the malignity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes, called Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded the esteem of his fellow savages, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many dangers had vainly menaced : and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such an indication of Indian character as this message afforded, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of the servants of his victim who attempted to arrest him. In the pangs of death, the pride but not the vanity of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests, one of which was that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might remain unknown to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of complying with it; and the colonists, by whom it was totally disregarded, had cause to regret their imprudent disclosure of the fatal event. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he affected placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot meanwhile advanced to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of

C H A P.
II.
1622.

BOOK 1.
1622. assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy their posts without awakening suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unfortified settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the purpose of their well-disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little importance in the colony at the time of its occurrence—the conversion of an Indian to the christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. A summons of such tenor was well calculated to impress a savage mind: but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him he revealed the formidable intelligence to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to James-Town, from whence the alarm was communicated to the inhabitants of the nearest settlements, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

22 March.

Massacre
of the colo-
nists.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At mid-day, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater, if the English, even in some of those districts where no prior intimation of the danger was received, had not flown to their

arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their malignity, and fled at the sight of weapons in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy.¹

The colony received a wound no less deep and dangerous, than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and several of the wealthiest and most respectable inhabitants were among the slain: at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of foes, whose enmity was equally furious and unaccountable, and whose treachery and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men.² To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the fraudulent guile and indiscriminate butchery of which they had set so bloody an example. But though a direful necessity was thought to justify or palliate such proceedings, yet the warfare of the colonists was never wholly divested of honour and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design that had been entertained of erecting a provincial college, and various other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six; and an afflicting dearth of food was added to the horrors of war.³

¹ Smith. Stith.

² It was long before the British colonists were properly on their guard against the ferocity of a race of men capable of such consummate treachery, and who "in anger were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful." Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

³ Stith. As far as I am able to discover, the retaliatory deceit practised by the colonists in their hostilities with the Indians has been greatly overrated. Stith seems to have mistaken expressions of indignation for deliberate designs; and Dr. Robertson has extended the error by mistaking purposes for the execution they never attained. The contemplation, and especially the endurance of cruelty, tends to make men cruel;—yet, to the honour of the colonists be it remembered, that even during the prevalence of these hostilities, a deliberate attempt to cozen and subjugate a body of Indians was punished by the provincial magistrates, as an offence against the law of God, and the laws of nature and nations. Stith.

BOOK
I.

1622.

When the tidings of this calamity arrived in England, they excited, along with much disapprobation of the defective policy and inefficient precautions of the Company of Patentees, a lively sympathy with the danger and distress of the colonists. By order of the king, a supply of arms from the Tower was delivered to the treasurer of the company; and vessels were despatched to Virginia with cargoes of such articles as were supposed to be most urgently needed by the planters. Captain Smith submitted to the company the project of an enterprise, which he offered to conduct, for the deliverance of the colony, by the expulsion or subjugation of all the Indian tribes within the limits of its territory; but, though generally approved, this project was not adopted. By dint of the exertions which they made in their own behalf, and with the assistance of the supplies that were actually sent to them from England, the colonists were barely saved from perishing with hunger; and it was not till after a severe and protracted struggle with their calamities, that they were at length enabled again to resume their prosperous attitude and extend their settlements.

Dissen-
sions of the
London
company.

More ample supplies, and more active assistance, would have been extended to the colonists from England, but for the dissensions among the company of patentees, which had been spreading for a considerable period, and had at this juncture attained a height that protended the dissolution of the corporation. The company was now a numerous body: and being composed of able and enterprising men drawn from every class in society, it presented a faithful abstract of the state of political feeling in the nation; while its frequent courts or convocations afforded a convenient arena in which the parties tried their strength, and a conspicuous organ by which the prevailing sentiments were publicly expressed. At every meeting, the transaction of business was impeded by the intrigues of rival factions, and the debates inflamed and protracted by their mutual altercations. At every election, the offices of the company were courted and contested by the most eminent persons in the state. The controversy between the court party and the country party that was spreading through the nation, was the more readily insinuated into the assemblies of the company from the infrequency and irregularity of its more

1623.

legitimate theatre, the parliament; and various circumstances in the history of the company tended to nourish and enlarge this source of disagreement. Many of the proprietors, dissatisfied with the slender returns that the colony had yielded, were disposed to blame the existing officers and administration for the disappointment of their hopes: not a few resented the procurement of the third charter, the exclusion of Captain Smith from the direction which he had shown himself so well qualified to exercise, and the insignificance to which they were themselves condemned by the arbitrary enlargement of the association; and a small but active and intriguing party, who had laboured with earnest though unsuccessful rapacity to engross the offices of the company, to usurp the direction of its affairs, and to convert the colonial trade into their own private patrimony by monopolies which they bought from needy courtiers, naturally ranged themselves on the side of the court, and by their complaints and misrepresentations to the king and privy council, sought to interest them in the quarrels, and infect them with suspicions of the corporation.¹ At the head of this least numerous but most dangerous faction, was the notorious Captain Argal, who continued to display a rancorous enmity to the liberty of Virginia, and hoped to compass by intrigue and servility at home the same objects which he had pursued by tyranny and violence abroad. Sir Thomas Smith too, the treasurer, whose predilection for arbitrary government we have already had occasion to remark, encouraged every complaint and proposition that tended to abridge the privileges of the colonial company, and give to its administration a less popular form. The arbitrary alterations of the charter taught all the malcontents to look up to the crown for such farther changes as might remove the existing obstructions to their wishes; and the complete ascendancy which the country party acquired in the company, strongly disposed the king to suppress or modify an institution that served to cherish public spirit and disseminate liberal opinions. The hardihood which the company had displayed in their late dispute with him concerning the restrictions of their tobacco trade, the freedom with which his policy had been canvassed in their deli-

C H A P.
II.
1623.

¹ Stith.

BOOK
I.
1623.

May.

berations, the firmness with which his measures had been resisted, and the contempt they had shown for the supremacy alike of his wisdom and his prerogative, in complaining to the House of Commons, eradicated from the mind of James all that partiality to an institution of his own creation, that might have sheltered it from the habitual dislike and suspicion with which he regarded the authority of a popular assembly. But the same qualities that rendered them odious, caused them also to appear somewhat formidable, and enforced some attention to equitable appearances, and deference to public opinion in wreaking his displeasure upon them. The murmurs and discontents that were excited by the intelligence of the massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he did not fail to improve. Having signalled his own concern for the misfortunes of the colony by sending thither a quantity of military stores for defence against the Indians, and by issuing his mandate to the company to despatch an ample supply of provisions, he proceeded to institute an inquiry into the cause of the disaster. A commission was directed to certain of the English judges and other persons of distinction, requiring them to examine the transactions of the corporation since its first establishment; to report to the privy council the causes that might seem to them to have occasioned the late misfortunes; and to suggest the expedients most likely to prevent their recurrence.¹ In order to obstruct the efforts of the company for their own vindication, and to discover, if possible, additional matter of accusation against them, measures the most arbitrary and tyrannical were resorted to. All their charters, books, and papers were seized; two of their principal officers were arrested; and all letters from the colony intercepted and carried to the privy council. Among the witnesses whom the commissioners examined was Captain Smith, who might reasonably be supposed to entertain little favour for the existing constitution of the corporate body, by which his career of honour and usefulness had been abridged, and who had recently sustained the mortification of seeing his offer to undertake the defence of the colony and subjugation of the Indians treated with thankless disregard, notwithstanding the appro-

¹ Stith.

bation of a numerous party of the proprietors.¹ Smith CHAP.
 ascribed the misfortunes of the colony, and the slenderness of II.
 the income that had been derived from it, to the neglect of 1623.
 military precautions; the rapid succession of governors, which
 stimulated the rapacity of their dependents; the multiplicity
 of offices, by which industry was loaded and revenue ab-
 sorbed; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous body
 of men to conduct an undertaking so complex and arduous.
 He recommended the annexation of the colony, and of all
 jurisdiction over it to the crown, the introduction of greater
 simplicity and economy into the frame of its government, and
 an abandonment of the practice of transporting criminals to
 its shores.²

The commissioners did not communicate any of their pro-
 ceedings to the company, who first learned the tenor of the October.
 report in which they were so deeply interested from an order
 of the king and privy council, signifying to them that the mis-
 fortunes of Virginia had arisen from their misgovernment,
 and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his majesty had de-
 termined to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which
 should commit the powers of government to fewer hands. In
 order to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that
 private property would be respected, and that all past grants
 of land should remain inviolate. An instant surrender of
 their privileges was required from the company; and, in
 default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that
 the king was prepared to carry his purpose into effect by pro-
 cess of law.³

This arbitrary mandate produced such astounding surprise
 and consternation in the assembled court of proprietors, that
 a long and deep silence followed the announcement of the
 order of council. But resuming their spirit, they prepared to
 defend their rights with a resolution which, if it could not

¹ Smith.

² Ibid.

³ Stith. It was in the midst of those distractions, says Stith, that the Muses for the first time opened their lips in North America. One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists was a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, composed in 1623 by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company. It was afterwards published in England, and dedicated to Charles the First. Stith terms it "a laudable performance for the times;" and Dryden mentions the author with respect in the preface to his own translations from Ovid.

- B O O K. avert their fate, at least redeemed their character. They indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their conduct by the order of council,—to surrender the franchises which they had legally obtained, and on the faith of which they had expended large sums of money,—or to consent to the abolition of a popular frame of government, and deliver up their countrymen in Virginia to the dominion of a narrow junto wholly dependent on the pleasure of the king. In these sentiments they persisted in spite of all the threats and promises by which their firmness was assailed; and by a vote, which only the dissent of Captain Argal and seven of his adherents rendered not quite unanimous, they finally rejected the king's proposal, and declared their determination to defend themselves against any process he might institute. Incensed at their audacity in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the Court of King's Bench. With the hope of collecting additional proofs of their maladministration, he dispatched envoys to Virginia to inspect the condition of the colony, and attempt to form a party there opposed to the pretensions of the court of proprietors.
1623. 1624. February. The royal envoys, finding the provincial assembly embodied, endeavoured with great artifice and magnificent promises of military aid, and of other marks of royal favour, to detach the members from their adherence to the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But their exertions were unsuccessful. The assembly transmitted a petition to the king, professing satisfaction to find themselves the objects of his especial care, beseeching him to continue the existing form of government, and soliciting, that if the promised military force should be granted to them, it might be placed under the control of their own governor and house of representatives. The domestic legislation of this assembly was marked by the same good sense and patriotism that appeared in the reception which it gave to the propositions of the royal envoys. The governor was deprived of an arbitrary authority which he had hitherto exercised. It was declared that he should no longer have power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labours

to his own service, and should levy no taxes but such as the provincial assembly should impose and appropriate. White women still were objects of great scarcity and value in the colony ; and to obviate an inconvenience that resulted from the ardour and frequency of amorous competition, a fine was now imposed on any woman who should encourage the matrimonial addresses of more than one man at a time. Various wise and judicious laws were enacted for the improvement of manners and the reformation of abuses, the support of divine worship, the security of civil and political freedom, and the regulation of traffic with the Indians.

Whether the suit between the king and the company was prosecuted to a judicial consummation or not, is a point involved in some uncertainty, and truly of very little importance ; for the issue of a suit between the king and any of his subjects in that age, could never be doubtful for a moment. Well aware of this, the company looked to protection more efficient than the ordinary administration of law could afford them, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, detailing a part of their grievances, and soliciting redress. Their application was entertained by the House so cordially, that had it been sooner presented, it might have saved the corporation ; but they had deferred this last resource till so late a period of the session of Parliament, that there was not time to enter on the wide inquiry which their complaints demanded : and fearing to exasperate the king by preferring odious charges which they could not hope to substantiate, they confined their pleading before the House to the discouragement of their tobacco trade, which the Commons without hesitation pronounced a national grievance. They gained no other advantage from their complaint, nor from their limitation of it. The king, enraged at their presumption, and encouraged by their timidity, issued a proclamation, suppressing the courts of the company, and committing the temporary administration of the colonial affairs to certain of his privy counsellors, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith and a few other persons.¹ The Virginia Company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges re-absorbed by the crown.

C H A P.
II.
1624.

July.

The company dissolved.

¹ Rymer. Hazard.

B O O K

I.

1624.
August.
The king
assumes
the govern-
ment of the
colony—

James did not suffer the powers he had resumed to remain long unexercised. He issued, soon after, a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the direction of the affairs of the colony was intrusted. No mention was made in this instrument of a house of representatives; a circumstance which, coupled with the subsequent imposition of royal proclamations as legislative edicts, has led almost all the historians of Virginia into the mistaken belief that the provincial assembly was abolished along with the mercantile corporation.¹ The commission ascribes the disasters of the settlement to the popular shape of its late government, which had intercepted and weakened the beneficial influence of the king's superior understanding; and, in strains of the most vulgar and luscious self-complacency, prospectively celebrates the prosperity which the colony must infallibly attain when blessed with the director rays of royal wisdom. With this demonstration of hostility to the political liberties of the colonists, there was mingled, however, some favourable attention to their commercial interests; for, in consequence of the remonstrance of the English parliament, James renewed by proclamation his former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and restricted the importation of this commodity to Virginia and the Somer Isles, and to vessels belonging to British subjects.² This was James' last public act in relation to the colony; for his intention of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration was frustrated by his death. He died the first British sovereign of an established empire in America; and thus closed a reign of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he impelled or promoted. To this favourite object, both the virtues and the vices of his character proved subservient. If the merit he might claim from his original patronage of the Virginian colonists, be cancelled by his subsequent efforts to bereave them of their liberties; and if his persecution

September.

1625.

his death.

¹ In the first edition of this work I repeated the mistake of these writers, and was also betrayed into the erroneous view which they have taken (and which has hitherto prevailed very generally in America, and universally in England) of the history of Virginia from the accession of Charles the First till the Restoration. I have been enabled to correct these errors, by a perusal of the works of two modern historians of Virginia—Burk, and Campbell.

² Rymer. Hazard.

of the puritans in their native country, be but feebly counter-C H A P.
 balanced by his willingness to grant them an asylum in New II.
 England;—his attempts to civilize Ireland by colonization, 1625.
 connect him more honourably with the great events of his
 reign. Harassed by the turbulent and distracted state of
 Ireland, and averse to the sanguinary remedy of military
 operation, he endeavoured to communicate a new character to
 its inhabitants by planting colonies of the English in the six
 northern counties of that island. He prosecuted this plan with
 so much wisdom and steadiness, as to cause, in the space of
 nine years, greater advances towards the reformation of
 Ireland than had been made in the four hundred and forty
 years which had elapsed since the conquest of the country was
 first attempted, and laid the foundation of whatever affluence
 and security it has since been enabled to attain.¹ It is difficult
 to recognise the dogmatical oppressor of the puritans, and the
 weak and arrogant tyrant of Virginia, in the wise and humane
 legislator of Ireland.

The fall of the Virginia company had excited the less concern, and the arbitrary proceedings of the king the less odium in England, from the disappointments and calamities with which the colonial plantation had been attended. More than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds² were already expended on this settlement, and upwards of nine thousand inhabitants had been sent to it from the mother country. Yet at the dissolution of the company, the gross value of the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and the population of the province was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons.³ The effect of this unprosperous issue in facilitating the overthrow of the corporation, may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for Virginia; for however unjust and tyrannical were the views and measures of the king, they were overruled to the production of a most important benefit to the colony, in the removal of an institution which would have dangerously loaded and cramped its infant prosperity and freedom. It is an observation of the most eminent teacher of political science, that of all the expedients that could possibly

¹ Leland's Hist. of Ireland. Hume's Hist. of England.

² Smith.

³ Chalmers's Annals.

BOOK I.
 1625. be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, the institution of an exclusive company is the most effectual;¹ and the observation is confirmed by the experience of history. In surveying the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successfully formed, we find a close and invariable connexion between the decline and the revival of their prosperity and the ascendancy and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations. A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their political power as an instrument of commercial gain, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them—that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to the colonists, by restricting their powers and opportunities of acquiring what they need, and disposing of what they have. Their mercantile habits prevail over their political interest, and lead them not only to prefer immediate profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this policy, and to render government subservient to the purposes of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devolve a large discretionary power on their provincial officers, over whom they retain at the same time but a feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been) the unauthorized act of the treasurer and the provincial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppression of its officers. How incapable a body of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on fixed and stable principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is attested by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province. Even after the vigorous spirit of liberty, which was so rapidly gaining ground in that age, had enabled the colonists to extort from the com-

¹ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

pany the right of composing laws for the regulation of their own community, still, as the company's sanction was requisite to give legal prevalence to the enactments of the provincial legislature, the paramount authority resided with men who had but a temporary interest in the fate of their subjects and the resources of their territories. While, therefore, we sympathize with the generous indignation which the historians of America have expressed at the tyrannical proceedings by which the company was dissolved, we must regard with satisfaction an event which, by its concomitant circumstances, inculcated an abhorrence of arbitrary power, and by its operation overthrew a system under which no colony has ever grown up to a vigorous maturity.

Charles the First inherited, with his father's throne all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects, by a series of proclamations which he issued soon after his accession to the crown, and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he had determined to pursue. He declared, that, after mature deliberation, he had adopted his father's opinion, that the misfortunes of the colony were occasioned by the democratical frame of its civil constitution, and the incapacity of a mercantile company to conduct even the most insignificant affairs of state; that he held himself in honour engaged to accomplish the work that James had begun; that he considered the American colonies to be a part of the royal empire devolved to him with the other dominions of the crown; that he was fully resolved to establish a uniform course of government through the whole British monarchy; and that henceforward the entire administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone. This unlimited arrogation of power has given rise to the common belief that Charles deemed the provincial assembly already abolished; and the arbitrary manner in which the functions of this body was repeatedly superseded by exertions of royal prerogative in the earlier part of this reign, has led the historians of Virginia erroneously to suppose and declare that no assembly was actually convoked in the province during that period. But in truth neither the

CHAP.
II.
1625.

March.
Charles I.
pursues his
father's ar-
bitrary po-
licy.

B O O K

I.

1625.

king nor his father seems to have entertained the purpose of extirpating the popular branch of the constitution. Their purpose appears to have been to reduce it to what they conceived a due subordination to the supremacy of their own prerogative; and to vindicate and develop the efficacy of royal proclamations, both in suspending laws already made, and in legislating for cases not yet regulated by statutory provision. While Charles expressed the utmost scorn of the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disdain to embrace its illiberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to purchase it on his own account.¹ Thus the colonists found themselves subjected to an administration that combined the vices of both its predecessors—the unlimited prerogative of an arbitrary prince, with the narrowest maxims of a mercantile corporation; and saw their legislative rights invaded, their laws and usages rendered uncertain, all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their only valuable commodity monopolized, by the sovereign who pretended to have resumed the government of the colony only in order to blend it more perfectly with the general frame of the British empire.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve persons, to exercise the authority of an indefinite prerogative; to make and execute laws; to impose and levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and to conform their own conduct in every point to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them.² Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists

¹ Rymer. Hazard. Burk.² Chalmers.

during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. Meanwhile, and during a long subsequent course of time, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco,¹ continued to restrict and encumber the importation and sale of it by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, multifarious, and unsteady, that it is impossible to undergo the fatigue of perusing them without a mixture of contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his counsels, and of indignant pity for the wasted prosperity and abused patience of his people. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the colonial population began to increase with rapidity; and in the year 1628 more than a thousand persons emigrated from Europe to Virginia.²

Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into full execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and by the rigour of his executive energy, aggravated the provocation inspired by his legislative pretensions and injustice. His disposition was perfectly congenial with the system which he conducted: and so thoroughly did he personify, as well as administer, tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross, in his own person, the odium of which a large share was properly due to the prince who employed him. He added every decree of the Court of High Commission in England to the ecclesiastical constitutions of Virginia; and selected for especial enforcement every regulation of English law which was unsuitable to the circumstances of the colonists, and therefore likely to entail and multiply legal penalties, all of which were commuted into fines and forfeitures appropriated to the governor.³ Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and confiscations, some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought proper to check his excesses. It

C H A P
11.
1629.

Tyrannical
govern-
ment of Sir
John Har-
vey.

July 1634.

¹ That he inherited also his father's style of writing against the use of this commodity, appears from a letter which he addressed to the Governor and Council of Virginia in 1627, in which he declares that "It may well be said that the plantation is wholly built on *smoke*, which will easily turn into *air*, if either English tobacco be permitted to be planted, or Spanish imported." Burk.

² Rymer. Chalmers. Hazard. Campbell. ³ Beverley. Burk.

B O O K signified that the king, in the plenitude of his bounty, and for
 1. the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests
 1634. which had been acquired under the late corporation should be
 exempted from forfeiture, and that the colonies, "*for the present*, might enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent."¹ We might suppose this to be the mandate of an eastern sultan to one of his bashaws; and indeed the rapacious tyranny of the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness, and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the excesses which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, moreover, which it was calculated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited general distrust of the validity of titles and the stability of property. The consequence of one of these grants was the formation of the state of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that had been previously annexed to Virginia. For many years this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavoured to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbours who refused to unite in their regulations.²

The restrictions prescribed by the letter of the royal committee, left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny: and the colonial assembly respecting, or overawed
 1635. by the authority, with which he was invested, for a long time endured it without resistance, and practically restricted their own functions to the degrading ceremonial of registering the

¹ State Papers, ap. Chalmers.

² Beverley.

edicts and decrees of their tyrant. At length, after a spirited but ineffectual attempt to curb his excesses by enactments which he disregarded, the assembly yielding to the general desire of their constituents, suspended him from his office, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king proved to be very ill founded. Charles was fated to teach his subjects, that if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them; that neither enduring patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purposes; and that in order to obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power of withholding it. The inhabitants of Virginia endured extreme oppression (of which he had already avowed his consciousness) with long patience, and even when driven to despair, had shown that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his disposition to redress them. Defenceless and oppressed, they appealed to him as their protector; and implored a relief to which their claim was supported by every consideration that could impress a just, or move a generous mind. Yet, instead of commiserating their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles regarded their conduct on this occasion as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. Harvey, released from his bonds, became in his turn the accuser; and the calumnies of the disgraced and banished tyrant were listened to with complacency and attention, while the deputies of the brave and loyal people, whom he had oppressed, were regarded as traitors, and forbidden to appear in the presence of their sovereign. The king refused to hear a single word from the deputies, either in defence of their countrymen or in crimination of Harvey; and having reinstated this obnoxious governor in his office, sent him back to Virginia, with a renovation of the powers which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and

C H A P.
II.
1635.

1636.

1637.
April.

BOOK I.
 1637. vehement, that they began to penetrate into England, where they produced an impression which, mingling with the general irritation in the parent state, could not be safely disregarded.¹

1638. If the administration of Sir John Harvey had been protracted much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering hostility by suggesting the hope of revenge. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years; but age, though it had bent his body and dimmed his eyes, had neither impaired his discernment, nor extinguished his animosity. Proud, subtle, sly, and cruel, he watched, with enduring and considerate hate, the opportunity of redeeming his glory and satiating his revenge. Seizing the favourable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough.²

1639. But a great change was now to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents which had for many years been gathering force and virulence in England, were advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened to convulse the kingdom by some violent eruption. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the re-assembling of a parliament; and, perfectly aware of the ill humour which his government at home had excited, he had reason to apprehend that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by complaints and descriptions of the despotism that had been exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure the adherence of a people, who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was regarded as the bond of political union between them and the parent state: and, from the propagation of the complaints of

¹ Chalmers. Oldmixon. Burk.

² Beverley.

colonial grievances in England, it was easy to foresee that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To this assembly the Virginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it. These considerations alone seem to account for the entire and sudden alteration which the colonial policy of the king underwent at this period. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia committed first to Sir Francis Wyatt, and afterwards to Sir William Berkeley—a person not only of superior rank and abilities to any of his immediate predecessors, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient—of upright and honourable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change, not less gratifying, was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to recognize in the amplest manner the legislative privileges of the Provincial Assembly, and to invite this body to enact a code of laws for the province, and to improve the administration of justice by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the full enjoyment of those liberties which they had originally procured from the Virginian Company, and which had been exposed to continual peril and violation from the same authority by which the Company had been subverted. Universal joy and gratitude was excited throughout the colony: and the king, who, amidst the hostility that lowered upon him from every other quarter of his dominions, was addressed in the language of grateful loyalty by this people, seems to have been somewhat struck and softened by the generous sentiments which he had so little deserved; and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects attached and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavoured to extend the application of their grateful expressions

C H A P.

II.

1639.

Sir Wil-
liam
Berkeley
appointed
governor.
1641.

The pro-
vincial li-
berties re-
stored.

B O O K
I. even to the policy from which he had desisted in order to obtain them.¹

1641. While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the domestic government of Virginia, he was not inattentive to the policy of preserving its dependence on the mother country, and securing to England an exclusive possession of the colonial trade. For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was directed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to require a bond from the master of every vessel sailing from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the King's dominions in Europe.² Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the liberality of other contemporary instructions; and with a free and mild government, which offered a peaceful asylum, and distributed ample tracts of land to all emigrants who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that at the beginning of the Civil War in the parent state, it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants.³ By the vigour and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few campaigns, was brought to a successful close: Opechancanough was taken prisoner⁴; and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was happy for Virginia that the restitution of her domestic liberties was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred till a later period, when the boon would probably have been attended with the re-establishment of the company of patentees. To this consummation some of the members of the suppressed company had been eagerly looking forward; and notwithstanding the disappointment that their hopes had sustained by the redress of those grievances whose existence would have aided their pretensions, they endeavoured to turn to their own advantage the jealous avidity with which every

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. Campbell.

² Chalmers.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Beverley. It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley to have sent this remarkable personage to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people."

complaint against the royal government was received by the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the assembly of Virginia, praying for a restoration of the ancient patents. This petition, though supported by some of the colonists, who were justly dissatisfied with the discouragement which the puritan doctrines and certain preachers of them, whom they had invited from Massachusetts,¹ experienced from the domestic government of Virginia, was, undoubtedly, not the act of the assembly, nor the expression of the prevailing sentiment in the colony. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty, by re-attaching it to the mercantile corporation under which it had been originally established. No sooner were they apprised of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favour to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervour of their loyalty, they enacted a declaration "that they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government."² The only misfortune attending the manner in which the Virginians had regained their liberties, was that it allied their partial regards to an authority which was destined to be overthrown in the approaching civil war, and which could no more reward than it deserved their allegiance. During the whole period of the struggle between the king and parliament in England, they remained unalterably attached to the royal cause; and after Charles the First had been beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, they acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign, and conducted the provincial government under a commission which he despatched to Sir William Berkeley from Breda.³ The royal family, though they had little opportunity, during their exile, of cultivating their interest in the colony, were not entirely regardless of it.

CHAP.
II.
1641.

1642.

Virginia
espouses
the Royal
cause—

June,
1650.

¹ This transaction forms a part of the History of New England.

² Chalmers. Gordon's Hist. of America. Burk.

³ Hume's England. Chalmers, This year a tract was published at London by one Edward Williams, recommending the culture of silk in Virginia.

B O O K 1.
 1650. Henrietta Maria, the queen mother, obtained the assistance of the French government to the execution of a scheme projected by Sir William Davenant, the poet, of emigrating in company with a large body of artificers, whom he collected in France, and founding with them a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by the English fleet; and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed the safety of his life to the friendship of Milton.¹

October.

But the parliament having subdued all opposition in England, was not disposed to suffer its authority to be questioned in Virginia. Incensed at the open defiance of its power in this quarter, it issued an ordinance, declaring that the settlement of Virginia having originated from the wealth and the population of England, and the authority of the state, ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon the English commonwealth, and subject to the legislation of parliament; that the colonists, instead of rendering this dutiful submission, had audaciously disclaimed the supremacy of the parent state, and rebelled against it; and that they were now therefore to be regarded as notorious robbers and traitors. Not only was all connexion prohibited with these refractory colonists, and the council of state empowered to send out a fleet and army to reduce them to obedience, but all foreign nations were expressly interdicted from trading with any of the English settlements in America.² It might reasonably be supposed that this latter restriction would have created a common feeling throughout all the English colonies, of opposition to the government of the parent state. But the colonists of Massachusetts were much more cordially united by similarity of political sentiments and religious opinions with the leaders of the English commonwealth, than by identity of commercial in-

¹ Johnson's *Life of Milton*. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, v. 688. Cowley, in a poem addressed to Davenant, exclaims,

“Sure ’twas the noble boldness of the muse
 Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse.”

But the motive of Davenant is, perhaps, better illustrated by the example than by the genius of Cowley. Impatient of the tumultuous distractions of Europe, these votaries of the peaceful pursuits of literature, sighed for a sojourn in the “safer world” of America. In the preface to a volume of his poems, published in 1656, Cowley declares that “his desire had been for some time past, and did still very vehemently continue, to retire himself to some of the American plantations, and to for-ake this world for ever.”

² Scobell's *Acts*, 1650, cap. 28.

terest with the inhabitants of Virginia. The religious views C H A P. that had founded their colonial society, long regulated all its II. municipal policy, and prevailed over every other consideration. 1650. And no sooner were the people of Massachusetts apprised of the parliamentary ordinance, than they hastened to enforce its prohibition of intercourse with Virginia, by a corresponding enactment of their own domestic legislature.¹

The efforts of the republican rulers of England were as prompt and forcible as their declarations. They quickly despatched Sir George Ayscue with an armament sufficient to overpower the provincial royalists, and extinguish the last traces of monarchical authority that still lingered in the extremities of the empire. The commissioners who were appointed to accompany this expedition, were furnished with instructions more creditable to the vigour than to the moderation and humanity of the parliamentary councils. They were empowered to try, in the first instance, the efficacy of pardons and other conciliatory propositions in reducing the colonists to obedience; but if their pacific overtures should prove ineffectual, they were then to employ every species of hostile operation, to set free the servants and slaves of all the planters who continued refractory, and furnish them with arms to assist in the subjugation of their masters.² This barbarous plan of hostility resembles less a war than a massacre, and suggests the painful reflection that an assembly, possessed of absolute power, and continually protesting that the glory of God and the liberty of mankind were the chief ends for which they assumed it, never once projected the liberation of the negro slaves in their own dominions, except for the purpose of converting them into instruments of bloodshed, ravage, and conquest.

The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and other islands to the sway of the commonwealth, entered the bay of Chesapeake. Berkeley, apprised of the invasion, hastened to engage the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more

¹ Hazard.² Thurloe's State Papers. Hazard.

BOOK I.
 1651. Subdued by the Long Parliament.

courage than prudence prepared to oppose the invading armament; but though he was cordially supported by the royalists who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, it was evident that he had undertaken an unequal contest. Yet his gallant demonstration of resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure favourable terms of submission to the colony. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences; and the colonists, recognising the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the English commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the privileges of the free people of England. In particular it was provided that the provincial assembly should retain its wonted functions; and that "the people of Virginia shall have as free trade as the people of England, to all places and with all nations," and "shall be free from all taxes, customs and impositions whatsoever, without the consent of their own assembly." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself, with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to regard as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was to summon him once more to defy the republican forces of England, and restore the ascendancy of royalty in the colony.¹

But it was the dependence and not the mere adherence of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were desirous to obtain; and their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their own commissioners, demonstrated in a striking manner with how little equity absolute power is exercised even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent the infliction of its rigour upon themselves. Having now obtained from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they hastened to adopt measures for promoting their dependence on England, and securing the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking hos-

Restraints imposed on the trade of the colony.

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. Chalmers. Burk.

tilities with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade,¹ the parliament not only forbore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, but framed another law which was to introduce a new æra of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. By this remarkable law, (of which the general policy was strongly recommended in the parliamentary speeches and political writings of the learned Selden) it was enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, except in vessels belonging to English owners or the inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be Englishmen.² Willing at the same time to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England.³

The unjust restriction of the colonial commerce, though by no means rigorously enforced, tended to keep alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was farther maintained by the emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted thither in such numbers that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the restoration. But Cromwell had now prevailed over the parliament, and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands; and though the flame of discontent was secretly nourished in Virginia by the passions and intrigues of so many cavalier exiles, yet the eruption of it was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration. Other causes too, which have been long obscured by the misrepresentations of partial or ignorant historians, contributed to the tranquillity

CHAP.
II.
1652.

1653.

¹ Hume's England.

² Scobel's Acts, 1651, cap. 22. The germ of this famous system of policy occurs in English legislation so early as the year 1381, when it was enacted by the statute of 5 Rich. II. cap. 3, "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." This enactment was premature, and soon fell into disuse. An act to revive it to a limited extent in 1460, was rejected by Henry the Sixth.

³ Scobel's Acts, 1627, cap. 2.

B O O K and security of Cromwell's empire in Virginia. For a century
 1. and a half it had been asserted, and repeated without contra-
 1653. diction by successive generations of writers,¹ that the govern-
 ment of the Protector in Virginia was illiberal and severe; that he appointed governors whose dispositions rendered them fit instruments of a harsh policy, and yet frequently displaced them from distrust of their exclusive devotion to his interest; and that while he indulged his favourite colonists of Massachusetts with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the long parliament, he rigorously exacted the observance of them from the Virginians. But the reputation of Cromwell's colonial policy has been triumphantly vindicated by the industry and research of a modern historian² of this province, who has proved beyond the possibility of further doubt or denial, that the treatment which the Virginians experienced under the protectorate was mild and humane; that their privileges were rather enlarged than circumscribed; and that Cromwell dignified his usurped dominion over them by the most liberal justice and fearless magnanimity. So far from having regulated the appointment and dismissal of governors by the principles which have been imputed to him, he never appointed or displaced a single governor of the province; but from the first, surrendered this branch of the sovereign's prerogative to the legislative assembly of a state which he knew to be the resort of his own most implacable enemies: and though he appears not to have granted to the Virginians an express exemption from the commercial ordinances of the long parliament, he permitted them, in practice, to evince a total disregard of these oppressive restrictions. Though his government was not fitted to inspire attachment, it seems to have gained the esteem and approbation of impartial and considerate men in Virginia, and to have trained their minds to freer reflection than they had ever before indulged on the objects and purposes for which human governments were in-

¹ Among whom occur the respectable names of Beverley, Oldmixon, Chalmers, Robertson, and Gordon.

² Burk. The history of Virginia has derived the most valuable and important illustration from the industry and genius of the writer. His style is too florid and figurative.

stituted. But from a numerous and increasing party of the inhabitants of Virginia, neither dispassionate reflection nor impartial judgment could reasonably be expected. To many of them, the name of Cromwell was associated with recollections of personal disappointment and humiliation; and to all of them it recalled the ruin of their friends, and the death and exile of their kings. Hatred and hope combined to unite their hearts to the downfall of the protectorate and commonwealth: and, as passionate are much more contagious than merely reasonable sentiments, the public mind in Virginia, notwithstanding the liberality of Cromwell's administration, began to be extensively leavened with the wish and expectation of change. The Puritan colonists of New England had always been the objects of suspicion and dislike to the great bulk of the inhabitants of Virginia: and the manifest partiality which Cromwell entertained for them, now increased the aversion with which they had been heretofore regarded. New England was generally considered by the cavaliers as the centre and focus of puritan sentiment and republican principle: and, actuated partly by religious, and partly by political feelings, the Virginian cavaliers conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that were reckoned peculiar to the puritans; and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in New England, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer.¹ At length the disgust and impatience of the royalist party in Virginia could no longer be restrained. Matthews, the last governor appointed during the supremacy of Cromwell, died nearly at the same period with the protector; and before an assembly could be convened to nominate his successor, a numerous body of the inhabitants, though yet unapprised of Cromwell's death, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and having forced

CHAP.
II.
1653.

Revolt of
the colony.
1658.

¹ The prejudices of an old cavalier against popular education, are strikingly displayed by Sir William Berkeley in a letter descriptive of the state of Virginia, some years after the Restoration. "I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both!"—Chalmers.

BOOK
I.

1658.
St. Wil-
iam
Berkeley
resumes
the govern-
ment.

1660.
Restora-
tion of
Charles II.

Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, declared him the only governor whom they would acknowledge in the colony.¹ Berkeley refusing to act under usurped authority, the insurgents venturously erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign; a proceeding which apparently involved a contest with the arms of Cromwell and the whole resources of the parent state. Happily for the colony, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which the ruling powers had equal ability and inclination to inflict upon it, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors, converted imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled the Virginians safely to exult in the singularity which they long and proudly commemorated, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced, and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown.²

¹ That Cromwell had meditated some important changes in Virginia, which death prevented him from attempting to realize, may be inferred from the publication of a small treatise at London, in the year 1657, entitled "Public good without private interest," written by Dr. Gatford and dedicated to the Protector. In this little work the Protector is advised to reform the numerous abuses extant in Virginia—the disregard of religion—the neglect of education—and the fraudulent dealings of the planters with the Indians; on all which topics the author descants very forcibly. Of this treatise, as well as of the tracts by Hamer, and Williams, and some others, which I have had occasion to notice elsewhere, I found copies in the library of the late George Chalmers.

² Oldmixon. Beverley. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell.

CHAPTER III.

The Navigation Act—its Impolicy.—Discontent and Distress of the Colonists.—Naturalization of Aliens.—Progress of the provincial Discontent.—Indian Hostilities.—Bacon's Rebellion.—Death of Bacon—and Restoration of Tranquillity.—Bill of Attainder passed by the Colonial Assembly.—Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys.—Partiality of the new Governor—Dispute with the Assembly.—Renewal of Discontents.—Lord Culpeper appointed Governor—Severity and Rapacity of his Administration.—An Insurrection—Punishment of the Insurgents.—Arbitrary Measures of the Crown.—James the Second—augments the Burdens of the Colonists.—Corrupt and oppressive Government of Lord Effingham.—Revolution in Britain.—Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William.—Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies.—State of Virginia at this Period—Population—Laws—Manners.

THE intelligence of the restoration of the House of Stewart to the throne of Britain soon reached America, and excited in the various British colonies which were now established in that region, very different emotions. In Virginia, whose history we must still separately pursue, it was received by a great majority of the people like the surprising fulfilment of an agreeable dream, and hailed with acclamations of unfeigned and unbounded joy. Even that class of the inhabitants which had recently expressed esteem and approbation of the protectoral government, evinced a new-born zeal for royalty hardly inferior to the more consistent ardour of the genuine cavaliers. These sentiments, confirmed by the gracious expressions of esteem and good-will¹ which the king very readily vouch-

CHAP.
III.
1660.

¹ Sir William Berkeley, who made a journey to England to congratulate the king on his restoration, was received at court with distinguished regard; and Charles, in honour of his loyal Virginians, wore at his coronation a robe manufactured of Virginian silk.—Oldmixon.

This was not the first royal robe that America supplied. Queen Elizabeth wore a gown made of the silk grass, of which Raleigh's colonists sent a quantity to England.—Coxe's Description of Carolana. There is a copy of this curious work in the library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

BOOK
 I.
 1660. safed, excited hopes of substantial favour and recompense which it was not easy to gratify, and which were fated to undergo a speedy and severe disappointment. Sir William Berkeley having received a new commission from the crown to exercise the office of governor, proceeded to convoke the provincial assembly, which, after zealous declarations of loyalty and satisfaction, undertook a general revision of the laws and institutions of Virginia. Trial by jury, which had been discontinued for some years, was now again restored; judicial proceedings were disencumbered of various abuses; and a provision, of essential importance to the interests of liberty, was made for enlarging the number of representatives in the Assembly in proportion to the increase of the province in peopled and cultivated territory. The supremacy of the Church of England was recognized and established by law; stipends were allotted to its ministers; and no preachers but those who had received their ordination from a bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement of conformity to the orders and constitutions of the established church, were permitted to exercise their functions either publicly or privately within the colony.¹ A law was shortly after passed against the importation of quakers into Virginia, under the penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco inflicted on the importers; but with a special exception of such quakers as might be judicially transported from England for breach of the laws.²

The same principles of government which prevailed in England after the restoration, uniformly extended their influence, whether salutary or baneful, across the Atlantic; and the colonies, no longer deemed the mere property of the prince, were considered as extensions of the British territory, and subject to parliamentary legislation. The explicit declaration by the Long Parliament of the dependence of the colonies on the parent state, introduced maxims which received the sanction of the courts of Westminster Hall, and were thus interwoven with the fabric of English law. In a variety of cases which involved this great constitutional point, the judges pronounced

¹ Chalmers. Burk.

² Chalmers. In 1663, the assembly entertained a complaint against one of its own members, of "being loving to the Quakers."—Burk.

that by virtue of those principles of the common law which bind the territories to the state, the American plantations were included within the pale of British dominion and legislation, and affected by acts of parliament, either when specially named, or when reasonably supposable within the contemplation of the legislature.¹ In conformity with the adjudications of the courts of law, was the uniform tenor of the parliamentary proceedings; and the colonists soon perceived that although the Long Parliament was no more, it had bequeathed to its successors the spirit which influenced its commercial councils. The House of Commons determined not only to retain the system of colonial policy which the Long Parliament had introduced, but to mature and extend it; to render the trade of the colonies completely subject to parliamentary governance, and exclusively subservient to the interests of English commerce and navigation. No sooner was Charles seated on the throne, than a duty of five per cent. was imposed by the parliament on all merchandize exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown;² and the same session, in producing the celebrated *Navigation Act*, originated the most memorable and important branch of the commercial code of England. By this statute (in addition to many other important provisions which are foreign to our present consideration), it was enacted that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from thence, but in vessels built in England or her colonial plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three-fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; that none but natural-born subjects of the English crown, or persons legally naturalised, should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English colonial settlement, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dyeing, produced, or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England; and

CHAP.
III.

1660.

The Navigation Act—

¹ Freeman's Reports, 175. Modern Reports, iii. 159, 160. iv. 225. Vaughan's Reports, 170. 400. Salkeld's Reports, ii. 6.

² 12 Car. II. cap. 4.

BOOK to secure the observance of this regulation, ship owners were
 1. required, at the port of lading, to give bonds with surety for
 1660. sums proportioned to the tonnage of their vessels.¹ The commercial wares thus restricted, were termed *enumerated commodities*: and when new articles of colonial produce, as the rice of Carolina, and the copper ore of the northern provinces, were raised into importance and brought into commerce by the increasing industry of the colonists, they were successively added to the original list which we have noted, and subjected to the same regulations. As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restraints, the parliament at the same time conferred on them the exclusive supply of tobacco, by prohibiting its cultivation in England, Ireland, Guernsey, or Jersey.²
 1663. The navigation act was soon after enlarged, and additional restraints imposed by a new law, which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and navigated and manned in conformity with the requisitions of the original statute. More rigorous and effectual provisions were likewise enacted for securing the infliction of the penalties attached to the transgression of the navigation act: and the principles of commercial policy on which the whole system was founded were openly avowed in a declaration that, as it was the usage of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves, so the colonies that were founded and peopled by English subjects ought to be retained in firm dependence upon England, and obliged to contribute to her advantage in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English commodities and manufactures, and the conversion of England into a settled mart or emporium, not only of the productions of her colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries as the colonies themselves might require to be supplied with.³ Advancing a step farther in the prosecution of its domineering policy, the parliament proceeded to tax the trade of the several colonies with each other; and as the act of navigation had left all the colonists at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one settlement to another without paying any duty, this exemption was subsequently with-

¹ 12 Car. II. cap. 18.² Ibid. cap. 34.³ 15 Car. II. cap. 7.

drawn, and they were subjected, in trading with each other, C H A P.
to a tax equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of III.
their peculiar commodities in England.¹
1663.

The system pursued by these regulations, of securing to England a monopoly of the trade of her colonies, by shutting up every other channel which competition might have formed for it, and into which the interest of the colonists might have caused it preferably to flow, excited in their minds the utmost disgust and indignation. In England, it was long applauded as a masterpiece of political sagacity; retained and cherished as a main source of opulence and power; and defended on the plea of expediency deduced from its supposed advantages. The philosophy of political science, however, has amply refuted these illiberal principles, and would long ago have corrected the views and amended the institutions which they sanctioned or introduced, but that, from the general prevalence of narrow jealousies, and of those obstinate and passionate prepossessions that constitute wilful ignorance, the cultivation of political science has much more frequently terminated in knowledge merely speculative, than visibly operated to improve human conduct, or increase human happiness. Nations, biassed by passionate enmities as well as mean partialities, have suffered an illiberal jealousy of other states to contract the views they have formed of their own interests, and to induce a line of policy of which the operation is to procure a smaller amount of exclusive gain, in preference to a larger contingent in the participation of general advantage. Too passionate or gross-sighted to discern the bonds that connect the interests of all the members of the great family of mankind, they have accounted the detriment and exclusion of their rivals, equivalent to an extension of benefit to themselves. The prevalence of this mistaken policy has commonly been aided by the interested representations of the few who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse, however generally pernicious: and when, in spite of the defects of its commercial policy, the prosperity of a state has been augmented by the force of its natural advantages, this effect has been eagerly

¹ 25 Car. II. cap. 7. Anno 1672.

BOOK

I.

1663.

ascribed to the very causes which really impeded and abridged, without being able entirely to intercept it. But the discoveries which the cultivation of political science has yielded, have in this respect coincided with the dictates of christian morality, and demonstrated that, in every transaction between nations and individuals, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial to both and each of the parties, is that which is founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience; that all policy suggested by jealous or malevolent regard of the advantage of others, implies a narrow and perverted view of our own; and that to do as we would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety. So coherent must true philosophy ever be with the prescriptions of Divine wisdom. But unfortunately this coherence has not always been recognised even by those philosophers whose speculations have tended to its illustration: and, confining themselves to reasonings, sufficiently clear and convincing, no doubt, to persons contemplating human affairs in the simplicity and disinterested abstraction of theoretical survey, they have neglected to promote the acceptance of important truths by reference to those principles that derive them from infallible wisdom, and connect them with the strongest sanctions of human duty.

Its im-
policy.

They have demonstrated¹ that a parent state by restraining the commerce of her colonies with other nations, depresses the industry and productiveness both of the colonies and of foreign nations; and hence, by enfeebling the demand of foreign purchasers, which must be proportioned to their ability, and lessening the quantity of colonial commodities actually produced, which must be proportioned to the demand for them, enhances the price of the colonial produce to herself as well as to the rest of the world, and so far diminishes its power to increase the enjoyments and animate the industry of her own citizens as well as of other states. Besides,—the monopoly of the colonial trade produces so high a rate of profit to the merchants who carry it on, as to attract into this channel a great deal of the capital that would, in the natural course of things, be directed to other branches of trade: and

¹ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

in these branches, the profits must consequently be augmented in proportion to the diminished competition of the capitals employed in them. But whenever the ordinary rate of profit in any country is raised by artificial means to a higher pitch than it would naturally attain, that country is necessarily subjected to great disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she does not command a monopoly. Her merchants cannot obtain that higher profit without selling dearer than they otherwise would do, both the commodities of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they carry abroad. The country thus finds herself frequently undersold at foreign markets in many branches of trade ;—a disadvantage to which she is the more exposed, that in foreign states much capital has been forced into those branches by her exclusion of foreigners from partaking her colonial trade, which would have absorbed a part of it. Thus, by the operation of a monopoly of the colonial trade, the parent state obtains an overgrowth of one branch of distant traffic, at the expense of diminishing the advantages which her own citizens might derive from the produce of the colonies, and of impairing all those other branches of nearer trade, which, by the greater frequency of their returns, afford the most constant and beneficial excitement to the industry of the country. Her commerce, instead of flowing in a variety of moderate channels, is taught to run principally in one great conduit ; and hence the whole system of her trade and industry is rendered peculiarly liable to obstruction and derangement.

But the injurious consequences of this exclusive policy are not confined to its immediate operation upon trade. The progress of our history will demonstrate that the connexion which a parent state seeks to maintain with her colonies by the aid of such a system, carries within itself the principles of its own dissolution. During the infancy of the colonies, a perpetual and vexatious exertion is required from the parent state to execute and extend her restraining laws ; while a corresponding diligence is exerted by the colonies to obstruct or elude their operation. Every rising branch of trade which is left for a time, or for ever, free to the colonists, serves by the

BOOK I.
 1663. effect of contrast, to render more striking and sensible the disadvantages of their situation in the regulated branches ; and every extension of the restrictions provokes additional discontent. As the colonies increase their internal strength, and make advances in the possession and appreciation of national consequence, the disposition of their inhabitants to emancipate themselves from such restraints, is combined with ability to accomplish their deliverance,—by the very circumstances, and at the very period, which will involve the trade of the parent state in the greatest loss and disorder. And the advantages which the commerce of other nations must expect from the destruction of the monopoly, unites the wishes of the whole world with the revolt of the colonies, and gives assurance of the most powerful assistance to promote their emancipation.

A better apology for the system which England adopted towards her colonies, than the boasted expediency of her measures would thus appear to supply, may be derived from the admitted fact, that her colonial policy, on the whole, was much less illiberal and oppressive than that which any other nation of Europe has ever been known to pursue. While the foreign trade of the colonies was restrained, for the supposed advantage of England, whose prosperity they partook, and by whose power they were, or were supposed to be, defended, their internal liberty was suffered to flourish and mature itself under the shelter of wise and liberal institutions ; and even the commercial restrictions imposed on them were much less rigorous and injurious than those which the colonies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark endured from their respective parent states. The trade of the British settlements was not committed, according to the practice of some of those states, to exclusive companies, nor restricted, according to the practice of others, to a particular port ; but, being left free to all the people, and admitted to all the harbours of England, employed a body of British traders too numerous and dispersed to admit of their superseding mutual competition and uniting in a general confederacy to oppress the colonists and extort exorbitant profits to themselves. This apology is obviously very unsatisfactory, as every attempt to palliate injus-

tice must necessarily be. It was urged with a very bad grace by the people of England, and totally disregarded by the inhabitants of America.

CHAP.
III.

1663.

Discontent
and dis-
tress of the
colonists.

In none of the American colonies did this oppressive system excite greater indignation than in Virginia, where the larger commerce of the people, their pre-eminent loyalty, and the recent experience of the lenient and liberal policy of Cromwell, rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating.¹ No sooner was the navigation act promulgated in Virginia, and its effects experienced, than the colonists warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But, although the English monarchs were accustomed at this period to exercise a dispensing power over the laws—inasmuch that when the court at a later period ventured openly to pursue a system of arbitrary government, even the act of navigation itself, so great a favourite with the nation, was suspended for a while by an exertion of this stretch of prerogative,—yet, during the early period of his reign, Charles, unassured of the stability of his throne, and surrounded by ministers of constitutional principles, was compelled to observe the limits of a legal administration, and to aid with his authority the execution even of those laws that were most repugnant to his principles and wishes. So far from lending a favourable ear to the petition of Virginia, Charles and his ministers adopted measures for carrying the act into strict execution. Intelligence having been received that its provisions were almost as generally violated as they were detested, and that the provincial authorities were reluctant to promote the efficacy of a system which they perceived was so disagreeable to the persons over whom they presided,—a royal mandate was issued to the governors of the settlements, reprimanding them for the

¹ It was to Virginia alone that Montesquieu's justificatory principle of the system of restricted trade could be considered as in any degree applicable. "It has been established," says this writer, "that the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason, because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not the foundation of a city, or of a new empire." *Spirit of Laws*, B. xxi. cap. 17. This was in some measure true in regard to Virginia, though her first charter professes more enlarged designs; but it was not applicable to New England, Maryland, or the other posterior settlements of the English.

B O O K “neglects or rather contempts,” which the law had sustained, and enjoining their future attention to its rigid enforcement ; ¹
 I.
 1663. and in Virginia, more especially, demonstration was made of the determined purpose of the English government to overcome all resistance, by the erection of forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coasts. But, notwithstanding the threatening measures employed to overawe them, and the vigilance of the British cruisers, the Virginians contrived to evade the law, and to obtain some vent to the accumulating stores of their depreciated produce, by a clandestine trade with the settlement of the Dutch on Hudson’s River. The relief, however, was inconsiderable ; and the discontent of the planters, inflamed by the hostilities which the frontier Indians now resumed, began to spread so widely as to inspire some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been banished to Virginia, with the hope of rendering themselves masters of the colony, and delivering it entirely from the yoke of England. A conspiracy, which has received the name of *Birkinhead’s Plot*, was formed for this purpose ; but the design having been seasonably disclosed by the fear or remorse of one of the persons engaged in it, was easily defeated by the prudence and vigour of Sir William Berkeley, and with no farther bloodshed than the execution of four of the conspirators. ²

The distress of the colony continuing to increase with the increasing depreciation of tobacco, now confined almost entirely to one market, and the augmentation of the price of all foreign commodities, now derivable only from the supplies which one country could furnish,—various efforts were made from time to time by the provincial assembly for the relief of their constituents. Retaliating, in some degree, the injustice with which they were treated, they passed a law enacting, that in the payment of debts, foreign creditors should be postponed to Virginian claimants, and that the provincial tribunals should give precedence in judgment to engagements contracted within the colony. Acts were passed for restraining the culture of tobacco ; and attempts were made to introduce a new staple, by encouraging the plantation of mulberry trees

¹ Chalmers. State Papers, *ibid*.

² Oldmixon. Beverley. Burk.

and the manufacture of silk ; but neither of these projects was successful. Numerous French protestant refugees being attracted to Maryland by a naturalization act in their favour, which was passed there in the year 1666, the Virginian assembly endeavoured to recruit the wealth and population of its territories from the same source, by framing, in like manner, a series of laws which empowered the governor to confer on aliens taking the oath of allegiance all the privileges of naturalization ;¹ but it was provisionally subjoined, that this concession should not be construed to vest aliens with the power of exercising any function which they were disabled from performing by the acts of the English parliament relative to the colonies. This prudent reference to a restriction which the provincial patents of naturalization must inevitably have received from the common law, was intended to guard against the disputes and confiscations which might ensue from the attempts of naturalized aliens to infringe the navigation act. But the precaution was unavailing ; and at an after period many forfeitures of property were incurred, and much judicial controversy occasioned, by the traffic which aliens in the colonies carried on under the authority of general patents of denization granted to them by the ignorance or inattention of the royal governors. Their pretensions, though quite repugnant to the navigation laws, were supported by the American courts of justice, but uniformly disallowed by the English privy council, which, after repeated decisions in conformity with the principle that the enactments of a provincial legislature cannot derogate from the general jurisprudence of the

CHAP.
III.
1671.

Natural-
ization of
aliens.

¹ It was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that the population of Virginia received any accession from the influx of these or other foreigners. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley thus describes the state of its population:—"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, men, women, and children : of which there are 2,000 black slaves, 6,000 christian servants for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle, or serve, in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly, we suppose, there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish ; and not above two or three ships of Negroes in seven years."—Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, *apud* Chalmers. The numerous importations of Servants mentioned by Sir William Berkeley were probably checked by the troubles that preceded and attended *Bacon's Rebellion*. The later importations were more available than the earlier ones ; the diseases of the country having diminished in frequency and violence as the woods were progressively cut down. The mortality among the new comers, we learn from Sir William Berkeley, was at first enormous, but had become very trifling prior to 1671.

BOOK empire, at length prohibited altogether the granting of farther
I. denizations by the provincial governors or assemblies.¹

1671. The discontents in Virginia, far from being mitigated by
Progress of the provin- the lapse of time, were exasperated by the increasing pressure
cial dis- of the commercial restrictions, corresponding with the succes-
content. sive exertions of the English government to promote their
more effectual operation. Various additional causes contri-
buted to inflame the displeasure of the colonists; and a con-
siderable native population having now grown up in Virginia,
the resentment of these persons was no way abated by the
habitual regard and fond remembrance which emigrants re-
tain for the parent state which is also the land of their indivi-
dual nativity. The defectiveness of their instruction, pre-
vented the influence of education from acting in this respect
as a substitute to experience; and they knew little of England
beyond the wrongs which they heard daily imputed to her in-
justice. It was natural that all the political leaders and rea-
soners who either sincerely undertook to indicate or factiously
endeavoured to aggravate these wrongs, should contrast the
oppression that had followed restored royalty in England with
the liberality which the colony had experienced from Oliver
Cromwell: and the inevitable effect of this suggestion was to
associate national prosperity and democratical ideas in the
minds of a numerous and increasing party of the Virginian
planters.² The Indian hostilities, after infesting the frontiers,
began now to penetrate into the interior of the province; and
while the colonists were thus reduced to defend their property
at the hazard of their lives, they found it additionally endan-
gered by the large and improvident grants of land which the
king, after the example of his father, yielded with lavish pro-
fusion and facility to the solicitations of his favourites. The
fate of that parent had warned him to avoid, in general,
rather the arrogance that provoked, than the injustice that
deserved it; and, in granting those applications, without
fatiguing himself by any inquiry into their merits, he at once

Indian
hostilities.

1673.

¹ Chalmers.

² The partial and contradictory accounts that have been transmitted of the subsequent events, bear unhappy testimony to the influence of the distinction that now began to prevail in Virginia between a royalist and a democratical party. The misrepresentations of faction remain to darken truth, after its passions have ceased to disturb happiness.

indulged the indolence of his disposition, and exerted a liberality that cost him nothing that he cared for. Many of the royal grants not only were of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavourable to the progress of cultivation, but, from ignorance or inaccuracy in the definition of their boundaries, were made to include tracts of land that had already been planted and appropriated. Such a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis. In the beginning of the year 1675, two slight insurrections, which were rather the hasty explosions of popular irritation than the fruits of matured design, were easily suppressed by the governor, but gave significant intimation of the state and the tendency of public feeling in Virginia. In the hope of averting the crisis, and obtaining redress of the more recent grievances which were provoking it, the assembly despatched deputies to England, who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had brought matters to the point of a happy adjustment, and obtained the promise of a royal charter, defining both the constitution and the territory of Virginia, when their expectations were frustrated and the proceedings suspended by intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony. A tax imposed by the assembly to defray the expense of the deputation, had increased the discontent which the deputation was intended to remove; and when the dilatory proceedings of the English ministers, who disdained to allow the intelligence of past, or the apprehensions of future insurrection, to quicken their diligence, seemed to confirm the assurances of the factious leaders of the colonists, that even their last sacrifice had been thrown away, the tide of rage and disaffection began again to swell to the point of rebellion. It did not long wait for additional provocation to excite, or an able leader to impel its fury. For, to crown the provincial distress, the Indian warfare, which had continued to prevail notwithstanding all the governor's attempts to suppress it, now burst forth with redoubled rage, and threatened a formidable addition of danger, hardship, and expense. The Indians had been provoked and alarmed by a series of enterprises which the governor promoted for exploring the large and yet unvisited districts adjoining the colonial occupation; and which the savages regarded as a preparatory step to farther

CHAP.
III.
1673.

1675.

April.

1676.

BOOK

I.

1676.

encroachments on their domains. Even the popularity of the long-trying and magnanimous friend of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, was overcast by the blackness of this cloud of calamities. The spirit and fidelity with which he had adhered to the colony through every variety of fortune, his earnest remonstrances with the English government against the commercial restraints, his generosity in devoting a considerable part of his own private fortune to the improvement and embellishment of the province, and the disinterestedness he had shown in declining, during the unprosperous state of the provincial finances, to accept an addition which the assembly had made to his official emoluments, were disregarded, denied, or forgotten. To his age and incapacity were now attributed the burdens of the people, and the distractions of the time; and he was loudly accused of wanting alike honesty to resist the tyrannical policy of the mother country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages.¹ Such ungrateful injustice is rarely, if ever, committed by a people, except when the insidious suggestions of factious leaders have imposed on their credulity and fanned their passions into fury. The populace of Holland, when, a few years before this period, they tore in pieces their benefactor John De Witt, were not only terrified by the progress of their national calamities, but deluded by the profligate artifices of the retainers of the house of Orange. To similar influence (exerted in similar circumstances) were the maddened and misguided Virginians now exposed from the artifice and ambition of Nathaniel Bacon.

Bacon's
rebellion.

This man had been trained to the profession of a lawyer in England; and, only three years had elapsed since, for some unexplained reason, he had emigrated to Virginia. Short as this interval was, it sufficed to advance him to a conspicuous station in the colony, and to illustrate the disposition and talents of a popular leader. The consideration he derived from his legal attainments, and the esteem he acquired by an insinuating address, had procured him already a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the provincial militia. But his temper was not accommodated to subordinate office; and, unfortunately, the distractions of the colony presented

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. Oldmixon. (2nd edit.) Campbell. Burk.

to him a sphere of action more congenial to his character and capacity. Young, sanguine, eloquent, and daring, yet artful and ambitious, he presented himself in the assemblies of the discontented planters, and, by his spirited harangues on the grievances under which they laboured, he promoted their exasperation and attracted their favour. He was implicated in the abortive insurrection of the preceding year, and had been imprisoned, and subsequently pardoned by the governor: but less affected by the clemency, than encouraged by the impunity which he had experienced, and sensible that the avenue to legitimate promotion was for ever closed against him, he determined to unite his lot with the fortune of the malcontent party; and, taking advantage of their present excitation, he now again came forward, and addressed them with artifice which their uncultivated understandings were unable to detect, and with eloquence which their untamed passions rendered quite irresistible. Finding that the sentiments most prevalent with his auditory were the alarm and indignation excited by the Indian ravages, he boldly charged the governor with neglect or incapacity to exert the vigour that was requisite for the general safety; and, having expatiated on the facility with which the whole Indian race might be exterminated, he exhorted his fellow colonists to take arms in their own defence, and achieve the deliverance they must no longer expect from any other quarter. So acceptable was this address and the speaker to the temper of the popular mind, that his exhortation was instantly obeyed, and his main object no less successfully accomplished. A great multitude hastened to embody themselves for an expedition against the Indians; and, electing Bacon to be their general, committed themselves to his direction. He assured them, in return, that he would never lay down his arms, till he had avenged their sufferings and redressed their wrongs. To give some colour of legitimacy to the pre-eminence he had acquired, and, perhaps, expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. Berkeley, suspecting his real designs, thought it prudent to temporise, and try the effect of nego-

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tiation : but he had to deal with a much more practised adept in dissimulation than himself; and encountered in Bacon a man guarded by his own artifice and insincerity from the craft of others, and conscious that promptitude and resolute perseverance alone could extricate him with safety or credit from the dangers of his situation. Pressed for an answer, and finding that the applicants were not to be soothed by his conciliating demeanour, Berkeley issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude to disperse immediately under pain of incurring the guilt of rebellion.

Bacon, no more disconcerted by this display of vigour than he had been duped by the negotiation that preceded it, instantly marched to James-Town, at the head of six hundred of his followers, and surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were engaged in deliberation, he demanded the commission which his proceedings and retinue showed how little he either needed or regarded. Berkeley, undismayed by the dangers that environed him, was sensible of his inability to repel the force of the insurgents, and yet disdained to bend his authority before their menacing attitude, or yield to their imperious demands. Confronting with invincible courage the men who had charged him with defect of this virtue, he peremptorily commanded them to depart;—and, when they refused, he presented his breast to their weapons, and calmly defied their rage. But the council, more considerate of their own safety, and fearful of driving the multitude to some fatal act of fury, hastily prepared a commission, by which Bacon was appointed captain-general of all the forces of Virginia,—and, by dint of earnest entreaty, prevailed with the governor to subscribe it. The insurgents, thus far successful, retired in triumph; and the council no sooner felt themselves delivered from the immediate presence of danger, than, passing from the extreme of timidity to the height of presumption, they voted a resolution annulling the commission they had granted, as having been extorted by force, proclaiming Bacon a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up, and summoning the militia to arm in defence of the constitution. They found too little difficulty in persuading the governor to confirm, by his sanction, this indiscreet assumption of an attitude of authority which they were totally

incapable of supporting. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. Bacon and his associates, flushed with their recent triumph, and incensed at the impotent menace, which they denounced as a base and treacherous breach of compact, returned immediately to James-Town; and the governor, unsupported by any force sufficient to cope with the insurgents, retired across the bay to Acomack, on the eastern shore. Some of the councillors accompanied him thither; the rest retired to their estates; the frame of the provincial administration seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon took unresisted possession of the vacant government.

The pre-eminence which he had thus attained by his vigorous conduct, Bacon employed with great address to add strength and reputation to his party. To invest his usurped jurisdiction with the semblance of a legal establishment, he summoned a convention of the principal planters of the province, and prevailed with a numerous body of them to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority and resist his enemies. A declaration or manifesto was published, in the name of this body, setting forth that Sir William Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war among the people, and that, after thus violating his trust, he had abdicated the government, to the surprise and confusion of the country; that General Bacon had raised an army for the public service, and with the public approbation; that the late governor having, as was reported, falsely informed the king that the general and his followers were rebels, and advised his majesty to send forces to subdue them, the welfare of the colony and their true allegiance to his most sacred majesty equally required that they should oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever, except those commanded by the general, till the king be fully informed of the true state of the case by such persons as should be sent to him by Bacon, to whom, in the interim, all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance. It was remarked by the wise, that this manifesto, which might have been expected to display the genuine cause of the revolt, mentioned none of the original sources of quarrel; and, hence, they justly suspected that the leader of the insurgents entertained personal and ambitious designs, to which he purposed to render the discontents of his followers subservient,—which ex-

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tended beyond the temporary proceedings in relation to the Indians, and which had already suggested to him a specious pretence for exposing the colony to a war with the forces of the mother country. Yet, such was the spirit of the times, and so prompt the sympathy with resistance to every branch of an administration which Charles was daily rendering more odious and suspected, that, when the rebel manifesto was promulgated in England, it found admirers among the people, and even within the walls of that parliament whose injustice formed the only real grievance that Virginia had at present to complain of. Though Bacon had purposely omitted to remind his adherents that the conduct of the Indian war was the object for which they had originally entrusted him with the command, it was to this measure that his first exertions were actually directed. To redeem his promise, and to exercise his troops, he marched at the head of an expedition against the hostile savages, who, rashly awaiting a general engagement, were defeated with a loss which they were never able to repair.

Sir William Berkeley, in the mean time, having collected a force from levies among the planters who remained well affected to him, and from the crews of the English shipping on the coasts, commenced a series of attacks on the forces of the usurper; and several sharp encounters ensued between the parties with various success. All the horrors of civil war descended on the colony. James-Town, which already contained several elegant buildings, erected at great expense by the governor and the more opulent planters, was reduced to ashes by the insurgents, at the command of Bacon, who judged it a station which he could not safely retain: the estates of the loyalists were pillaged, their friends and relatives seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province laid waste. The governor was prompted by his indignation, as well as by the rage of his partizans, to retaliate these extremities, and even to execute some of the insurgents by martial law; and the animosity of both parties was rapidly mounting to a pitch that threatened a war of mutual extermination. The superiority of the insurgent force had hitherto confined the efforts of the loyalists in the field to mere skirmishing engagements; but the tidings of an approaching ar-

mament, which the king had despatched from England under C H A P.
 Sir John Berry, to the assistance of the governor, gave pro- III.
 mise of a wider range of carnage and desolation. Charles 1676.
 had issued a proclamation, declaring Bacon a traitor and the October.
 sole promoter of the insurrection; tendering pardon to all his
 followers who should forsake him, and freedom to all slaves
 who would assist in suppressing the revolt. However elated
 the loyalists might be with the intelligence of the approaching
 succour, the leader of the insurgents was no way dismayed by
 it; and his influence over his followers was unbounded.
 Conscious now that his power and his life were indissolubly
 connected, he determined to encounter whatever force might
 be sent against him. He was aware, at the same time, of the
 importance of striking a decisive blow while the advantage of
 numbers remained with him; and with this view, having
 enlarged his resources by proclaiming a general forfeiture of
 the property of all who either opposed his pretensions or even
 affected neutrality, he was preparing to take the field, when
 his career was arrested by that Power which can wither in an
 instant the sinews of abused strength, and arrest the uplifted
 arm of the most formidable destroyer. Happily for his Death of
 country, and to the manifest advantage not less of his fol- Bacon—
 lowers than his adversaries, Bacon unexpectedly sickened and Jan. 1677.
 died.

The ascendancy with which this remarkable person had predominated, as the master-spirit of his party, was illustrated by the effect of his death on their sentiments and conduct. The bands of their confederacy seemed to be cut asunder by the loss of their general, nor did any successor even attempt to re-unite them: and their sanguine hopes and resolute adherence to Bacon, were succeeded by mutual distrust and universal despondency. Ingram, who had been lieutenant-general, and Walklate, who had been major-general of the insurgent forces, showed some disposition to prolong the struggle by maintaining possession of a strong-hold which had been occupied by their party: but after a short treaty with Sir William Berkeley they consented to surrender it, on condition of receiving a pardon for their offences. The other detachments of the rebel army finding themselves broken and

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and res-
toration of
tranquil-
lity.

disunited, afraid to protract a desperate enterprise, and hoping perhaps to be included in the indemnity granted to Walklate and Ingram, or at least to experience equal lenity, laid down their arms and submitted to the governor. Thus suddenly and providentially was dissipated a tempest that seemed to portend the entire ruin of Virginia. From the man whose evil genius excited and directed its fury, this insurrection has been distinguished by the name of *Bacon's Rebellion*. It placed the colony for seven months in the power of that daring usurper, involved the inhabitants during all that period in bloodshed and confusion, and was productive of a devastation of property to the extent of at least a hundred thousand pounds.¹ To the mother country it conveyed a lesson which she appears never to have understood till the loss of her colonies illustrated its meaning, and the consequence of disregarding it. For, after every allowance for the ability and artifice of Bacon, it was manifest that his influence had been originally derived from the general discontent and irritation occasioned by the commercial restrictions; and it required little sagacity to foresee that these sentiments would be rendered more inveterate and more formidable by the growth of the province, and by the increased connexion and sympathy with the other colonial settlements, which the lapse of time and the habitual consciousness of common interests and grievances would infallibly promote. Had Bacon been a more honest and disinterested leader, this lesson would perhaps have been more distinctly unfolded, and the rebellion, it is probable, would not have ended with himself. But, instead of sincerely embracing the cause of his associates, he contrived to render their passions instrumental to his own ambitious views. The assertors of the interests of Virginia were thus converted into the partizans of an individual; and when his presence and influence were withdrawn, they perceived at

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. Modern Universal History, xli. Sir William Keith's History of Virginia. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell. Mrs. Afra Behn celebrated this rebellion in a tragi-comedy, entitled "The Widow Rauter, or the History of Bacon in Virginia," to which Dryden wrote a prologue. The play was acted unsuccessfully, and afterwards published in 1690. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. It sets historical truth entirely and avowedly at defiance. It is replete with coarse humour and indelicate wit.

once that they were embarked in a contest which to themselves had neither interest nor object. CHAP. III.

No sooner were the insurgents disbanded, and the legitimate government restored, than Sir William Berkeley proceeded to assert the vindictive powers of the law with a rigour more proportioned to the guilt of the rebels and the provocation he had received from them, than akin to the general humanity of his character and the lenity which he had extended to the promoters of former insurrections. But the recent rebellion had produced a scene of outrage and bloodshed to which nothing similar had occurred in the preceding commotions, and which he probably regarded as the reproach and requital of his lenity on those occasions. Refusing to publish the royal proclamation which he now received from England, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, he caused several of the rebels who were not included in his treaty with Walklate and Ingram to be brought to trial for treason. All of these who confessed their guilt and implored mercy seem to have been exempted from the extremity of legal rigour; but of others who abided the issue of a trial, ten were convicted and executed. The number of the guilty, which at first had seemed to betoken their security, served now to aggravate and diffuse the terror of these proceedings, which were at length interrupted by an address from the provincial assembly beseeching the governor to forbear from the farther infliction of capital punishment. By this assembly a few of the surviving ringleaders of the insurrection were subjected to fines and disabilities, and Bacon, together with certain of his officers who had perished in the contest, were attainted. An attainder of the dead seems an arrogant attempt of human power to extend its arm beyond the scene of human life, to invade with its vengeance the inviolable sanctuary of the grave, and to reclaim to the jurisdiction of transient authority and fallible judgment the defenceless being and supposed offender, who has already been removed by the act of Sovereign Power to abide the decree of its eternal and unerring justice. In England this measure was regarded as an act of sovereignty beyond the competence of a subordinate legislature, and held to be void from defect of power; but this objection was obviated, and the attainder

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Bill of attainder passed by the colonial assembly.

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 1677. subsequently re-enacted, by passing a bill to the same effect, which had been framed in England, and transmitted under the great seal to the colonial assembly.¹

The tardy aid which had been despatched from England to the defence of the provincial government, did not reach Virginia till after the rebellion had been suppressed. With the fleet, arrived Colonel Jefferys, appointed by the king to signify the recall and succeed to the office of Sir William Berkeley, who now closed in peace an administration of nearly forty years: and shortly after, closing his life, may be said to have died in the service of Virginia. This gallant and honourable man was thus spared the mortification of beholding the injustice and impolicy with which the royal authority was soon after employed to blacken his fame, and to weaken all those sentiments of loyalty in the colony which it had been the great object of his wishes to cultivate and cherish. Entertaining all the principles of an old cavalier; endowed with a character well formed to recommend his principles; and presiding in a colony where the prevailing sentiments of the people were for a long time entirely congenial with his own, he had hoped to render Virginia a scene where the loyalty that was languishing in Europe might be renovated by transmigration into a young and growing body politic, and expand to a new and more vigorous maturity. But this was not the destination of the provinces of America. The naked republican principle that substitutes the respect and approbation of citizens toward their magistrate, in place of the reverence and

Sir Wil-
 liam Ber-
 keley su-
 perseded
 by Colonel
 Jefferys.

¹ Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia. Oldmixon. Keith. Chalmers. Burk. Campbell. The account which I have given of the penal proceedings which followed the suppression of the rebellion, is derived from a strict examination and comparison of the statements of these and other writers, and coincides entirely with none of them. Except Burk, and Campbell (who merely repeats without vouching for the statements of Burk) every other writer has declared that Sir William Berkeley punished none of the rebels capitally, and ascribed this forbearance to his having procured their surrender by a promise of general pardon. Burk expressly asserts that Berkeley gave such assurance to the rebels, and charges him with having violated it both by the executions which I have related, and by others inflicted by the more summary process of martial-law. But an attentive examination of the documents to which he refers, has satisfied me that there is no credible evidence of any person having been put to death by martial-law, except during the subsistence of the rebellion, or of any promise of pardon having been made to those who were tried and convicted after its suppression. Neither the colonial assembly, in their address against further capital punishments, nor the royal commissioners in their charges against the governor, have given any countenance to the suppositions adopted by Burk.

attachment of subjects to their sovereign, was held by all the cavaliers in utter abhorrence; and a more favourable specimen of the opposite principle which they embraced, and of that mixed system of opinion and sentiment which it tended to produce, will not easily be found than in the character and conduct of Sir William Berkeley. The courageous regard he demonstrated for the people, not only excited their grateful admiration, but recommended to their esteem the generous devotion to his king with which it was in his language and demeanour inseparably blended. When the hopes of the royalists were extinguished in every other quarter of the empire, this governor of an infant province boldly arrayed his scanty forces on the banks of James River, in defence of his people and his principles, against the victorious arms of the most formidable power in Europe: and afterwards emerging from retirement, and seconding the popular impulse, he again braved the same unequal contest, and, disowning the authority, defied the forces of the protectoral government. For many years his influence in Virginia was unbounded, and his virtues seemed to expand with the growth and the enjoyment of his popularity. But in the close of his administration, when he saw the efficacy of these virtues impaired, his long labours defeated, and the scene of all his loyal and disinterested services gradually pervaded by discontent and democratical sentiment, and finally defaced and convulsed by rebellion,—his disposition seemed to derive a tincture from the bitterness of disappointment, and his conduct, both during the continuance and after the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, has been reproached with splenetic impatience and vindictive severity. In happier times, he had approved himself a wise legislator, as well as a benevolent and upright magistrate; and we are informed by the editor of the *Laws of Virginia*, that the most judicious and most popular of them were suggested by Sir William Berkeley. When his death was known, and he was no longer an object of flattery or of fear, the assembly recorded the sentiments which the colony entertained of his conduct in the grateful declaration, “that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor;” and earnestly recommended his widow to the justice and ge-

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 1677. nerosity of the king.¹ The bosom of the king, however, was totally inaccessible to such sentiments; and his reign was calculated to dispel instead of confirming the impressions of cavalier loyalty.

Partiality
 of the new
 governor.

The most remarkable event that distinguished the government of Colonel Jefferys was the conclusion of the Indian war, which had raged so long, and contributed, with other causes, to the production of the late rebellion, by a treaty which gave universal satisfaction. This too was the only act of his administration that was attended with consequences so agreeable. Jefferys, together with Sir John Berry and Colonel Moryson, had been appointed commissioners to investigate, and report, the causes of Bacon's rebellion. They commenced their inquiries with an avowed prepossession in favour of the insurgents, and conducted them with the most indecent partiality. The temptation which their office presented to magnify the importance of their labours, by new and unexpected discoveries, and to prove, by arraignment of the late administration, that they had not been appointed its censors in vain, co-operated, no doubt, to produce the malevolence and injustice which they displayed in a degree that would otherwise seem quite unaccountable. Instead of indemnifying, or even applauding, they discountenanced the loyalists who had rallied in the time of danger around the provincial government; and, having invited all persons who had been engaged in the insurrection to come forward and state their grievances without fear, and unequivocally demonstrated the favourable acceptance which such representations might expect, they succeeded in collecting a mass of confused and passionate complaints, which they digested into a report fraught with crimination of Sir William Berkeley and his council, and with insinuations against the honesty and the courage of all the planters who had united with the governor in withstanding the rebels.² While their folly or malignity thus tended to

¹ Chalmers. Preface to Moryson's Edition of the Laws of Virginia. Life of Sir William Berkeley.

² The memory of Sir William Berkeley was defended against the misrepresentations of the commissioners, by his brother Lord Berkeley (Chalmers), and his fame suffered no diminution from their report. Burk, who has evidently conceived a strong prejudice against Berkeley, expresses a different opinion. He asserts

rekindle the dissensions of the colonists, their intemperance involved them in a dispute that united all parties against themselves. Finding that the Assembly hesitated to comply with a requisition they addressed to it, that all its books and journals should be submitted to their inspection, they seized these records by force, and withdrew them from the clerk who was entrusted with their custody. Incensed at this insult, the assembly demanded satisfaction from Jefferys; and when he appealed to the authority of the great seal of England, under which the commissioners acted, they declared to him, in language worthy of the descendants of Englishmen and the parents of Americans, "that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the great seal, because they could not find that any king of England had ever done so in former times." The spirit thus displayed by the assembly appears the more deserving of applause, when we consider that a body of regular troops, the first that had ever been sent to Virginia, were now stationed in the colony under the command of Sir John Berry. Informed of this proceeding, the king, in strains that rival the arrogance of his father and grandfather, commanded the governor "to signify his Majesty's indignation at language so seditious, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure." Berry and Moryson soon after returned to England, leaving the colony in a state of ferment, and all parties disgusted and disappointed.

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Dispute
with the
assembly.

October.

To the other causes of discontent, was added the burden of supporting the soldiery, who, receiving no remittances of pay from England, indemnified themselves by their extortions from the planters. The impatience created by this treatment, however, was mitigated by the mild and prudent demeanour

Renewal
of discon-
tents.

that Berkeley, on his return to England, found that his conduct was disapproved by the king. But Oldmixon, whose authority on a point like this, is entitled to the highest respect, declares that Berkeley before his death received an assurance of the esteem and approbation of his sovereign.

During the disputes that preceded the war of independence, it was common for the writers who espoused the cause of America to aggravate the blame of the British government by exaggerating the previous loyalty of the Americans. But this representation has ceased to please in America: and some of her late writers have preferably devoted their labour and ingenuity to the illustration of the antiquity of her republican spirit. Burk, in particular, has magnified beyond their due importance the first manifestations of discontent and democratical feeling in Virginia; and for the credit both of his representations and of his countrymen, has eagerly adopted every factious charge and injurious supposition with respect to Sir William Berkeley.

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 1678. of an aged officer and venerable man, Sir Henry Chicheley, to whom, as lieutenant-governor, the administration devolved on the death of Jefferys: and as, during his presidency, some of the large and improvident donations of land by the crown that had been so much complained of were revoked, and certain other grievances corrected, a short gleam of prosperity was shed on the colony, and an interval of comparative repose gave the people time to breathe before the resumption of tyranny with a violence which was to endure till the British revolution.¹

Lord Culpepper appointed governor— It was not to the intentions of the king that the colonists were indebted for the lenient administration of Sir Henry Chicheley. Charles had some time before conferred the government on Lord Culpepper, who, though very willing to accept the important office, showed so little readiness to perform the duties of it, that it was not till he had been reprimanded by the king for his neglect, that he made his voyage to Virginia. His administration was conducted with the same arbitrary spirit that the royal government had now begun to indulge without control in the mother country. Having wrested from the assembly the nomination of its own most confidential officer, the secretary who kept its journals; having abolished the power it had hitherto exercised of entertaining appeals from the decisions of the provincial judicatories; having accumulated a considerable sum of money by official pillage; and having guarded his tyranny from complaint by a law that prohibited, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful speeches against the governor or his administration,—

May, 1680. severity and rapacity of his administration.

August. he returned, after a very short stay in Virginia, to dissipate the spoils of the province in the luxuries of England. Yet on this ignoble lord did the king confer the commission of governor for life, and a salary twice as large as the emoluments of Sir William Berkeley. The irritation which his proceedings had created, sharpened the sense of the hardships which the colonists were now enduring from the depressed price of tobacco; and at length the public impatience exploded in a tumultuary attempt to destroy all the new tobacco plantations that threatened to increase the depression of price by

May, 1682. An insurrection—

¹ Chalmers.

multiplying still farther the quantities of produce. The insurrection might have proceeded to very serious extremities, if the prudence and vigour of Sir Henry Chicheley had not again been exerted to compose the public discontent, and restore the peace of the colony. To any mind influenced by liberal justice, or susceptible of humane impressions, this slight and short-lived insurrection was strongly recommended to an indulgent consideration. It was but a momentary expression of popular impatience created by undoubted suffering: and the earnest, though ineffectual addresses by which the assembly had recently solicited from the king a prohibition of the increase of tobacco plantations, had both suggested and seemed to sanction the object to which the violence of the rioters was directed. But to the king it appeared in the light of an outrage to his dignity, which imperiously demanded a severe vindictive retribution; and Lord Culpepper, again obeying the royal mandate to proceed to Virginia, caused a number of the insurgents to be tried for high treason; and by a series of bloody executions diffused that mute terror which tyrants denominate tranquillity. Having thus enforced a submission, not more propitious to the colony than the ferment which had attended his former departure, Lord Culpepper again set sail for England, where he was immediately ordered into confinement for returning without leave; and on a charge of misappropriating the provincial revenues, was shortly after arraigned before a jury, and in consequence of their verdict deprived of his commission.¹

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1682.

punish-
ment of the
insurgents.

In displacing this nobleman, it was the injury done to himself, and not the wrongs of the colony, that Charles intended to redress. The last exertion of his royal authority, which Virginia experienced, was the appointment of a successor to Culpepper, in Lord Effingham, whose character was very little, if at all superior, and whom, among other instructions, the king expressly commanded to suffer no person within the colony to make use of a printing press on any occasion or pretence whatsoever. Along with the new governor was sent a frigate, which was appointed to be stationed on the coast with the view of compelling a stricter execution of the naviga-

Arbitrary
measures
of the
crown.

August,
1683.

¹ Beverley. Chalmers.

BOOK I. tion act than this obnoxious measure had yet been able to obtain.¹

Feb. 1685. On the death of Charles the Second, his successor, James, was proclaimed in Virginia with demonstrations of joy, indicating less the attachment of the colonists to the person of their new sovereign, than that impatient hope with which men, under the pressure of extreme hardship and annoyance, are ready to hail any change in their prospects or situation. Acclamation far more warmly expressive of hope and joy had attended the commencement of the preceding reign; and if the hopes that were entertained on the present occasion were more moderate, they were not on that account the less fallacious. The colonists soon learned with regret, that in his first parliament, James had procured the imposition of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England; and in imploring the suspension of this tax, which threatened still farther to obstruct the sale of the only vendible production of their soil, they descended to an abjectness of entreaty which produced no other effect than to embitter their disappointment with the consciousness of unavailing degradation. Though the assembly judged it expedient to present an address of felicitation to the king on the defeat of Monmouth's invasion of England, the colonists found an opportunity of indulging very different sentiments on that occasion in the kindness with which they treated some of the insurgents whom James, from a satiety of bloodshed, which he termed the plenitude of royal mercy, appointed to be transported to the American plantations; and even the assembly paid no regard to the signification of the royal desire that they should frame a law to prevent these unfortunate persons from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they had been consigned. This conduct, however, of the colonists and their assembly, in so far as it was not prompted by simple humanity, expressed merely their dissatisfaction with the king's treatment of themselves, and denoted no participation of their wishes or views in the designs of Monmouth. The general discontent was increased by the personal character of the governor, through whom the rays of royal influence were transmitted. Lord

augments
the bur-
dens of the
colonists.

¹ Chalmers.

Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the baseness of a sordid disposition on the severity of an arbitrary and tyrannical administration. He refused to convoke the provincial assembly. He instituted a court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge; and, besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with clerks the meaner perquisites of subordinate office. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by the infliction of arbitrary imprisonment and other tyrannical severities: but, at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible to prevent the complaints of the colony from being carried to England,—for which country he in consequence resolved himself to embark, in order to be present at his own arraignment. He was accompanied by Colonel Ludwell, whom the assembly had appointed their agent to advocate the complaints of his conduct and urge his removal from office.¹

C H A P
III.
1685—8.
Corrupt
and op-
pressive
govern-
ment of
Lord
Effingham.

1688.

But before the governor and his accuser arrived in England, the revolution which the tyranny of James provoked in that country, had transferred the allegiance of all parties to new sovereigns. The Virginians, though they readily acquiesced in the change, appear to have surveyed with very little emotion, an event which coincided with none of their anticipations, and to the production of which their concurrence had never been demanded. Whatever might be its remoter consequences, its immediate effect was forcibly to remind them of their own insignificance, as the appendage of a distant empire, whose political changes they were fated to follow, but unable to control. The most deep-seated and lasting grievances under which they laboured, having proceeded from the English nation and parliament, were such as the present event gave no promise of alleviating. Their immediate complaints were to be submitted to sovereigns of whom they knew absolutely nothing; and their late experience had diminished their trust in princes, and discouraged hopes of advantage from changes of royalty. The coolness, then, with which the Virginians are said to have regarded the great event of the

Revolution
in Britain.

¹ Beverley. Oldmixon. Chalmers.

- BOOK I.
1688. English revolution, so far from implying that their minds were not touched with a concern for freedom, may, with much greater probability, be referred to the ardour with which they cherished this generous principle, and the deliberate reflection which they combined with it.¹ In some respects, too the policy of the new government that had arisen in the parent state was but ill formed to convey to them more satisfactory impressions of the change that had taken place, or to induce their sympathy with the feelings of that portion of their fellow-subjects by whose exertions it had been accomplished. Notwithstanding the representations of Colonel Ludwell (who himself was gratified with the appointment of governor of Carolina), King William, disinclined, and perhaps unable to dismiss those officers of his predecessor, who were willing to transfer their personal adherence and official service to himself, continued Lord Effingham in the government of Virginia. This nobleman, however, did not again return to the province, and as long as his commission was suffered to endure, the administration was conducted by a deputy governor.
- Com-
plaints of
the colo-
nies
against the
former
governors
discou-
raged by
King
William.
1692. He was removed in the year 1692, and replaced by a successor still more obnoxious to the colonists, Sir Edmund Andros, whose tyrannical conduct, prior to the revolution, in the government of other American provinces, more justly merited the brand of legal punishment and disgrace than continuance of official trust and dignity. If such appointments remind us that the English ministry was still composed of many of the persons who had dispensed patronage in the preceding reigns, they may also in part be accounted for by other considerations. Of the officers who were thus undeservedly retained, some pretended to great local experience and official ability. This was, particularly, the case of Sir Edmund Andros, whose administration eventually proved highly beneficial to Virginia. And they excused the arbitrary proceedings which they had conducted in the former reigns, by pleading the authority of the sovereign whose commands they had obeyed—a plea which always finds favour with a king, when not opposed to

¹ Colonel Quarry's Memorial to the Lords of Trade in the year 1703, on the state of the American provinces, represents the Virginian planters as a numerous and wealthy race, strongly imbued with "republican notions and principles."

wrongs which he deems personal to himself. Besides, the complaints of the colonists were not always accurate: for anger is a more copious than discriminating accuser. Justice suffered, as usual, from the defect of temper and moderation with which it was invoked; and the guilty artfully availed themselves of the inconsiderate passion by which their accusers were transported, in order to defeat or discredit the charges which they preferred. The insolence and severity, for example, that had pervaded the whole of Lord Effingham's government, had elicited many complaints, in which the accusers either neglected or were unable to discriminate between the legality of official acts, and the tyrannical demeanour or malignant motives of the party by whom they had been performed. Accordingly, while some of the remonstrances which the Virginians transmitted to England by Colonel Ludwell were favourably received and approved by the British government, there were others that produced only explanations, by which the Assembly was given to understand that it had mistaken certain points of English constitutional law.¹ In the infancy of a free state, collisions and disputes not unfrequently arise from conflicting pretensions of different but co-ordinate branches of its municipal constitution, before time has given consistence to the whole structure, and those relative limits which reason finds it difficult to assign to the respective parts, have been determined by the convenience of practice and the authority of precedent.

The revolution of the British government, both in its immediate and its remote operation, was attended with consequences highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with all the existing states of America. Under the patronage, and by the pecuniary aid, of William and Mary, the college which had been projected in the reign of James the First was established.² The political institutions under which the manly

Effect of
the Eng-
lish revolu-
tion on the
American
colonies.

¹ Beverley. Chalmers. One of the grievances complained of by the assembly of Virginia was, that Lord Effingham having, by a proclamation, declared the royal dissent to an act of assembly which repealed a former law, gave notice that th's law was now in force. This was erroneously deemed by the assembly an act of legislation.

² Beverley. Seymour, the English Attorney-General, having received the royal commands to prepare the charter of the college, which was to be accompanied with a grant of 2,000*l.*, remonstrated against this liberality, urging that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and that he did not see the slightest occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair (the commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia) represented to him that its intention

B O O K
 I.
 1692. character of Englishmen is formed, had already been planted in the soil to which so large a portion of their race had migrated: the literary and religious institutions, by which that character is refined and elevated, were now, in like manner, transported to Virginia; and a fountain opened within her own territory, which promised to dispense to her children the streams of science, physical, moral, and religious.

But the most important and decisive influence which the British revolution exercised on the condition of the colonies, consisted in the abridgment and almost entire abolition of their dependence on the personal character of the king. A conservative principle was infused by that great event into the main trunk of the British constitution in England, and into all the filial shoots that had issued from the parent stem, and sprung up in the settlements abroad. The continuity of existence and supremacy of power which the parliament acquired in Britain, extended the constitutional superintendence of this national assembly to every subordinate organ of popular rights; and if it oppressed the trade, it protected the chartered liberties of the provinces of America. The king still continued to appoint the governors of Virginia and of some of the other settlements; and men of sordid dispositions and of feeble or profligate character were frequently the objects of this branch of the royal patronage. But the powers of these officers were contracted and defined; and the authority of the provincial assemblies was able to restrain, and even overawe, the most vigorous administration of the executive functionaries. Whatever evil influence a wicked or artful governor might exert on the domestic harmony of the people, or on their opinions of the royal prerogative which he administered, he could commit no serious inroad on the constitution of the province over which he presided. From this period a tolerably equal and impartial policy distinguished the British dominion over the American provinces: the diminution of the personal influence of the sovereign effaced in a great degree the inequalities of treatment previously occasioned by the different degrees of

was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the Gospel, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England. "*Souls!* (said he) *damn your souls! make tobacco.*"—Franklin's Correspondence.

favour with which he might happen to regard the religious or political sentiments of the inhabitants of the respective states; and consequently extinguished, or at least greatly abated, the jealousies which the several colonial communities had hitherto entertained of each other. A farther abatement of these mutual jealousies was produced by the religious toleration which the provincial governments were henceforward compelled to observe. Even when intolerant statutes were permitted to subsist, their execution was generally disallowed; and the principles cherished in one province could no longer be persecuted in another.

We must now transfer our inquiry to the rise of the other colonies in North America which were founded antecedently to the British Revolution, and trace their separate progress till that era. But before our undivided attention be withdrawn from this, the earliest of the settlements, it seems proper to subjoin a few particulars of its civil and domestic condition at the period at which we have now arrived.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances to which the colony had been exposed in a greater or less degree ever since the Restoration, the number of its inhabitants had continued to increase. The deputies that were sent to Charles the Second in 1675, represented the population as amounting, at that time, to 50,000 persons.¹ If their statement were not exaggerated (as it probably was) we must suppose that Bacon's rebellion, and the subsequent tyranny, gave a very severe check to this rapid increase; for there is no reason to suppose that the colony contained a much greater number than 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688. From a table appended to the first edition of Beverley's History, it appears, that, in 1703, the population of Virginia (exclusive of 800 French refugees conveyed thither by King William) amounted to 60,606 souls. Of this number, 20,023 were *titheables* (a denomination implying liability to a poll tax, and embracing all white men above the age of sixteen, and all negro slaves, male and female, above that age), and 35,583 children of both races, and white women. The most intelligent and accomplished of the modern historians of Virginia has conjectured

State of
Virginia
at this
period—
population
—laws—
manners.

¹ Chalmers.

BOOK. that at the period of the British Revolution, one half of the
 I. population of the province consisted of slaves.¹ Many circumstances contributed to give free scope to the increase of the provincial population, and to counterbalance the influence of commercial restraint and despotic government. The healthfulness of the settlement had greatly improved; and the diminution of disease not only closed a drain from which the population had severely suffered, but rendered the general strength more available to the general support. The use of tobacco now prevailed extensively in Europe; and the diminution of its price was in some degree compensated by the increased demand for the commodity. In 1671, it was computed, that, on an average, 80 vessels came annually from England and Ireland to Virginia for tobacco. In 1675 there were exported from Virginia above 23,000 hogsheads of tobacco, and in the following year upwards of 25,000. In this latter year the customs on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, collected in England, amounted to 135,000*l*.² Sir William Berkeley rates the number of the militia, in the year 1671, at nearly 8000, and adds, that the people were too poor to afford the equipment of cavalry. In the year 1680 the militia amounted to 8568, of whom 1300 served as cavalry.³ Our estimate, however, of the increased wealth which the cavalry establishment seems to indicate, must be abated by the consideration of the increased exertions which the Indian war and Bacon's rebellion had rendered necessary. In the year 1703, we learn from Beverley, that the militia amounted to 9522, of whom 2363 were light horse, and the remainder foot and dragoons; and that, as few of the planters were then destitute of horses, it was considered that the greater part of them might, if necessary, be converted into dragoons.⁴ Every freeman (a denomination embracing all the inhabitants except the slaves and the indented servants) from sixteen to sixty years of age, was enrolled in the militia; and as the people were much accustomed to shoot in the woods, they were universally expert in the use of fire-arms.⁵ The militia was commanded

¹ Beverley. Burk.

² Chalmers. In the year 1604 the whole customs of England amounted only to 127,000*l*., of which 110,000*l*. was collected in the port of London.—Hume.

³ Chalmers.

⁴ Beverley.

⁵ Beverley, (edit. 1722.)

by the governor, whose salary was 1000*l.* a-year, till the appointment of Lord Culpepper, who, on the plea of peerage, C H A P.
III. procured it to be doubled.¹

The twelve provincial councillors, as well as the governor, were appointed by the king; and a salary of 350*l.*, assigned to the council, was divided in proportion to the public services which the members respectively performed. In all matters of importance, the concurrence of the council with the governor was indispensably requisite. The provincial Assembly was composed of the councillors, who termed themselves the Upper House, and exercised the privileges of the English House of Lords; and the burgesses, who were elected by the freemen of the respective counties, and performed the functions of the House of Commons, receiving wages proportioned to their services, and derived, like all the other provincial salaries, from provincial taxation. A poll tax long continued to be the only domestic tribute imposed on the Virginians: and the payment of this tax conferred the qualification of a freeman. The poorer classes were reconciled to the poll tax by this identification of its burden with the enjoyment of the political franchise, and by the specious application of a maxim which became current in the colony, that *the lives and industry of the citizens were objects of greater value than lands and houses*. Until the year 1680, the several branches of the assembly had collectively formed one deliberative body; but in that year the councillors separated themselves from the burgesses, and assumed a distinct political existence. In conjunction with the governor, the councillors formed the supreme tribunal of the province; from whose judgments, however, in all cases involving more than 300*l.*, an appeal was permitted to the king and privy council of England. In 1681, the province contained twenty counties; in 1703 it contained twenty-five. A quit rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land was paid by the planters to the crown.²

In the year 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. A church was built in every parish, and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, along with a stipend, which

¹ Beverley.

² Ibid. Chalmers. Burk.

B O O K was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco. This mode of remuneration obviously tends to give a secular cast to the life and character of the ministers, and to entangle them with concerns remote from their spiritual duties. The equalization which it proposes is quite fallacious; the different degrees of fertility of different parishes rendering the burden unequal to the people, and the very different quality of the tobacco produced in different soils, making the remuneration unequal to the clergy. The presentation to the livings, prior to the British Revolution, belonged to the governor, but was generally usurped or controlled by the parishioners. After the revolution it devolved into the hands of parochial vestries, which, though originally elected by the people, came, in process of time, to exercise the power of supplying vacancies in their numbers by their own appointment. The bishop of London was accounted the diocesan of the province; and a resident commissary (generally a member of the council) appointed by that prelate, presided over the clergy, with the power of convoking, censuring, and even suspending them from the exercise of their ministry. The doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law; attendance of divine worship at the parochial churches, and the celebration of the sacraments of the church, were enjoined under heavy penalties; the preaching of dissenters, and participation in the rites and worship of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment. There was one bloody law, which menaced quakers returning from banishment with the punishment of death; but no execution ever took place in consequence of this enactment; and it was repealed soon after the Revolution of 1688. The other intolerant laws were not then repealed, but they were no longer strictly or uniformly executed; and though the statute-book continued to prohibit the preaching and practices of dissenters, the prohibition was little regarded, and liberty of conscience considerably realized. In 1688, a great majority of the people belonged to the established church. Other opinions and practices, however, began to arise, and were doubtless promoted by the influence of the free schools, of which a great many were founded and endowed soon after that period; and the provincial government being restrained from executing the

intolerant laws against dissenters, endeavoured to cherish the state ecclesiastical establishment by heaping temporal advantages upon its ministers. This policy produced its usual fruits, and generated so much indolence, vice, and incapacity among the state clergy, that at the era of the American revolution two-thirds of the inhabitants of Virginia had become dissenters, and were obnoxious, on that account, to the ban of their own municipal law.¹

Of every just and humane system of laws, one main object should be to protect the weak against the strong, and to correct instead of confirming and perpetuating the inequalities of condition created from time to time by inequalities of strength, skill, success, or industry. This wise and benevolent principle must be sacrificed, to a considerable extent, in the code of every country where slavery is admitted. By the laws of Virginia, all persons brought into the colony by sea or land, not having been christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even though they might be converted to christianity after their arrival. A slave committing a capital crime was appointed to be tried by commissioners named by the governor, without the intervention of a jury; and if the punishment of death were inflicted, indemnification to the extent of the pecuniary value of the slave was awarded from the provincial treasury to the master. This last regulation has prevailed in every state where negro slavery has been admitted; notwithstanding its manifest tendency to injure the public by relaxing the domestic vigilance of masters, and its injustice to the slaves in weakening the slight but sole security of humane treatment which they derive from the pecuniary interest of their masters in the preservation of their lives. In the year 1669, it was enacted that the death of a slave occasioned by the correction of a master should not be accounted felony; "since it cannot be presumed," says the act, "that premeditated malice, which alone makes murder

¹ Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia. Beverley. Burnaby's Travels through the Middle Settlements of America. Chalmers. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. From the journal of Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker, it appears that a good many of his fellow sectaries were peaceably and happily established in Virginia before the end of the seventeenth century. Among these, he mentions one Porter, who (in the year 1698), at the age of 92, had a daughter two years old. Porter died at the age of 107, full of days, wisdom and piety, leaving seventy descendants in the province.

B-O-O-K felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate.”

I. But reason and experience alike refute this pernicious sophistry, which ascribes to absolute power a tendency to repress human irascibility, and accounts avarice and selfishness sufficient motives and pledges of justice, humanity, and liberality. Neither infidels nor negroes, mulattoes nor Indians, were allowed to purchase christian white servants; and if any person having christian white servants, should marry an infidel, or a negro, mulatto, or Indian, all such servants were made free. Any free white person intermarrying with a negro or mulatto, and any minister celebrating such marriage, was punished with fine and imprisonment. It will excite the merriment of a satirist, the disgust of a philosopher, and the indignant concern of a christian, to find, combined with such inhuman and tyrannical laws, the strictest injunctions of the worship of that great Teacher of charity and humility who commanded his worshippers to *honour all men*; together with many solemn denunciations and penal enactments against *travelling on Sunday, profane cursing, and profanely getting drunk*. Justices of the peace were commanded to hear and determine the complaints of all servants *except slaves*, against their masters. Various regulations were established for securing mild and equitable treatment to indented servants: at the close of their indentures they received from their masters each a musket, a small sum of money, and a quantity of corn; but if during the currency of their term of service they presumed to marry without consent of their master or mistress, they were punished with an additional year of servitude. To discourage the planters from employing female indented servants in agricultural labour, it was enacted that all white women exempted from such labour should be also exempted from poll tax, but that any of them who might be employed in rustic toil should forthwith be enrolled in the list of titheables. All persons riotously assembling to the number of eight or more, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, incurred the guilt of treason. Every person, not being a servant or slave, committing adultery or fornication, was, for the greater offence, fined 1000, for the lesser 500 pounds of tobacco. Women convicted of slander were adjudged to be ducked, in default of their husbands' consenting to redeem them from

the penal immersion at the cost of a pecuniary mulct. There being no inns in the country, strangers were entertained at the houses of the inhabitants, and were frequently involved in law-suits by the exorbitant claims of their hosts for indemnification of the expenses of their mercenary hospitality: for remedy whereof, it was enacted, that an inhabitant neglecting in such circumstances to forewarn his guest, and to make an express paction with him, should be reputed to have entertained him from mere courtesy and benevolence.¹ All the foregoing laws continued in force long after the British Revolution.

CHAP.
III.

It appears from the first of these statutes, that Indians visiting the territories of the state were liable to be made slaves by the colonists: and in Jefferson's statistical account of Virginia it is related that the practice of enslaving those savages did at one time actually prevail.² But with the Indian tribes situated in their immediate vicinity, and comprehended in the pacification negotiated by Colonel Jefferys, the colonists maintained relations more approaching to friendship and equality. The Indians paid, indeed, in conformity with the treaty of peace, an annual tribute of beaver skins to the provincial government.³ But their territories were ascertained by the treaty, and guaranteed to them securely by law; and every wrong they might sustain at the hands of any of the colonists was punished in the same manner as if it had been done to an Englishman.⁴ By the aid of a donation from that distinguished religious philosopher, Robert Boyle, an attempt was made to render the institution, which, from its founders, has been called William and Mary College, subservient to the instruction of the Indians. Some young persons belonging to the friendly tribes, received at this seminary the elements of civil and religious education; and the colonists, sensible of the advantages they derived from possessing in

¹ Abridgment of the laws of Virginia. Beverley. Burk.

² Notes on Virginia.

³ Beverley.

⁴ Abridg. Laws of Virg. "That the lands of this country were taken from the Indians by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchases which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on farther search. The upper country, we know, has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form."—Notes on Virginia.

BOOK I. the persons of such pupils the most valuable hostages of the pacific demeanour of their parents, prevailed with some of the more remote nations of the Indians to send a few of their children to drink of the same fountain of knowledge. But as the pupils were restored to their respective tribes when they attained the age that fitted them for hunting and warlike exercises, it is not likely that this institution produced any wide or permanent impression on the character of the Indians, or made any adequate compensation for the destructive vices and diseases which the Europeans were unhappily much more successful in imparting.¹ Attempts to convert barbarians very frequently disappoint their promoters; and not those only who have assisted the undertaking from merely secular ends, but those also who, truly regarding the Divine glory in the end, disregard, at least in some measure, the Divine agency in the means. As an instrument of temporal improvement merely, and civilization, the preaching of the gospel will ever be found to disappoint all those who have no higher or ulterior views. In a civilized and christian land, the great bulk of the people are christians merely in name: reputation, convenience, and habit, are the sources of their profession: vices are so disguised, that the testimonies of christian preachers against them often miss their aim; and a professed devotedness to the service of piety and the pursuit of spiritual good is easily reconciled with, and esteemed a decent livery of, the more real and substantial devotion to all that is worldly, selfish, and sensual. But among heathens and savages, a convert to christianity must change his way of life, overcome his habits, and forfeit his reputation; and none, or at least very few, become professors except from the influence of real conviction, more or less lasting and profound. Those who remain unconverted, if they be honestly addressed by the missionary preachers, are incensed at the testimony against their evil deeds and sullied nature; and the conduct of many professing christians among their civilized neighbours too often contributes to mislead and confirm them in error. But this topic will derive an ampler illustration from

¹ Beverley. (Edit. 1722.) In citing this author, it is the edition of 1705 that I refer to, when the other is not expressly named.

occurrences that relate to others of the North American States, than the early history of Virginia is fitted to supply.

CHAP.
III.

Literature was not much cultivated in Virginia. There was not at this period, nor for many years after, a single book-seller's shop in the colony.¹ Yet a history of Virginia was written some years after by Beverley, a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the Revolution of 1688. The first edition of this work in 1705, and a later edition in 1722, were published in England. Beverley is a brief and rather agreeable annalist, and has appended to his narrative of events an account of the institutions of the province, and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants. He is chargeable with great ignorance and incorrectness in those parts of his narrative that embrace events occurring in England or elsewhere beyond the immediate precincts of Virginia. Only the initial letters of his name appear on the title-page of his book, whence Oldmixon was led into the mistake of supposing his name to have been *Bullock*; and in some of the critical catalogues of Germany he has received the erroneous appellation of *Bird*.² A much more enlarged and elaborate history of Virginia (but unfortunately carried no further down than the year 1624) was written at a later period by Stith, also a native of the province, and one of the governors of William and Mary College. Stith is a candid, accurate historian, and accomplished writer; tediously minute in relating the debates in the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company, and their disputes with the king; but generally impressive and interesting. A manly and liberal spirit pervades every page of his work, which was first published at Williamsburgh in 1747.

Beverley warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen;

¹ The literature of North America was at this time monopolized almost entirely by New England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Boston contained five printing-offices, and many booksellers' shops, there was but one bookseller's shop in New York, and not one in Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. Neal's History of New England. Even in the provincial towns of the parent state, booksellers' shops were very rare at this period.—Boswell's Life of Johnson.

² Warden, a late American writer, has repeated this error, and described as the production of Bird, what in reality was the first edition of Beverley's work. There really was a history of Virginia written and published by a Colonel Bird, in the beginning of the 18th century; but I have never been able to meet with it. Oldmixon (in his Preface) gives some account of the author, and enumerates the work among the materials which he himself had made use of.

BOOK
1.

a commendation which the peculiarity of their condition renders very generally credible, though the preamble of one of their laws, which we have already noticed, demonstrates that its application was by no means universal. He reproaches them with indolence, which he ascribes to their residence in scattered dwellings, and their destitution of that collected life which promotes mutual co-operation and competition, invigorates industry, and nourishes the spirit of adventurous enterprise. It may be ascribed also to the influence of slavery in fostering pride and degrading labour. A life like that of the first Virginian colonists, remote from crowded haunts, unoccupied by a multitude and variety of objects and purposes, and sequestered from the intelligence of passing events, is the life of those to whom the company of strangers is peculiarly acceptable. All the other circumstances of such a lot contribute to the promotion of hospitable habits. As, for many of their hours the inhabitants can find no more interesting occupation, so, of much of their superfluous produce they can find no more profitable use than the entertainment of visitors.¹

It was the remarkable and advantageous peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians, from congregating in large towns, and forming marts of trade. The same peculiarity characterized that portion of their original territory which was subsequently formed into the separate province of Maryland; and there too, it was attended with similar effects. The whole of that vast region is pervaded by numerous streams, that impart fertility to the land, and carry the produce they have promoted to the great highway of nations. From the bay of Chesapeake, where all those streams unite, the greater number of them afford an extensive navigation into the interior of the country: and the colonists perceiving that in order to embark the produce of their land, they needed not to quit their plantations, but might load the merchant ships at the doors of their country warehouses, dispersed themselves along

¹ "Mr. Jefferson told me, that in his father's time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road for the purpose of amicably way-laying and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass."—Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States.

the banks of the rivers, and united the healthful felicity of rural life with the advantages of commerce. Except the small towns of Williamsburgh, which succeeded James-Town as the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, no cities grew up for a very long period in either of these settlements. This social condition proved highly favourable to those two great sources of national happiness,—good morals, and the facility of gaining by industry a moderate competence and a respectable station in society. The convicts who were transported to the colony, finding none of the opportunities of confederacy, pillage, and concealment, that large towns afford, either returned to Europe at the expiration of their periods of service,—or, impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally tendered to industry and morality, they melted into the mass of humble and respectable free labourers. To this important class of society, the virtues of industry and economy were recommended by prizes both greater and nearer than any other social community ever before presented. Labour was so valuable, and land so cheap, that a very few years of diligent exertion could promote the labourer to the condition of a landowner;¹ no one needed to despair of a competence; and none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth. Toil, no longer the badge of hopeless poverty, was respected as the certain passport to independence; nor was there among the free population any distinction of rank which industry and virtue were unable to surmount. A constant and general progression, effected without scramble or peril, gave a quiet alacrity to life; and fellow-feeling was not obstructed, nor insolence and servility engendered, by numerous instances of a wide inequality of condition. They were and are, undoubtedly, a happy people.

Two causes, however, have contributed in this and others of the American provinces, to impede the operation and abridge the influence of circumstances so favourable to happiness and virtue. Of these, by far the most important is the institution of domestic slavery; an institution fraught with

¹ “ I remember the time when five pounds were left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in; and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy; and at last it was all given to one old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor man’s country in the world.”—Beverley.

BOOK
I.

incalculable evil to the morals, manners, and felicity of every country into which it has gained admission. The slaves are reduced to a state of misery and degradation;—to a state which experience has pronounced so destructive to virtue, that in many languages the condition of a slave and the character of a thief are expressed by the same word. The masters are justly loaded with the guilt of all the wretchedness and worthlessness which that state inevitably infers: every mind is tainted with the evil which it engenders and displays, and sustains an abatement either of happiness or virtue. Every master of a slave, whether he term himself citizen or subject, is a monarch endowed with more uncontrolled authority than any sovereign in Europe enjoys; and every country where slavery is admitted, whether it call itself kingdom or republic, is a country subject to the dominion of tyrants. Nay, the more liberal its political constitution, the more severe in general is its system of domestic tyranny; and the experience of every age has verified the Grecian proverb, that none are so completely enslaved as the slaves of the free. Human character is as much corrupted and depraved by the arrogance of dominion as by the depression of servitude; and slavery is a state wherein *one man ruleth over another to his own hurt*. The same wisdom which assigned to man his duties, adapted them to the development of his understanding and the refinement of his sensibility. This adaptation is particularly visible in the duties that regulate the mutual intercourse of men. To violate therein the law of kindness and the principles of equity, is to warp the understanding¹ as well as to corrupt the heart; to lower the dignity of rational, and the

¹ An illustration of this remark may, perhaps, be derived from the apologetic theory which philosophical slave-owners have introduced into the world,—that the negroes are a separate and inferior race of men—a notion by which the degradation that human beings inflict on their fellows in reducing them to the level of the brute creation, is charged upon God, whose word assures us that he created man after his own image, and that he fashioned all souls alike. Interest and pride harden the heart; the deceitfulness of the heart perverts the understanding; and men are easily persuaded to consider those as brutes whom they think it convenient to treat as such. The best refutation of this theory that I have ever seen is the production of an American writer. It occurs in Dr. S. Smith's interesting "Essay on the causes of the variety of figure and complexion in the human species."

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson has contended for the natural inferiority of negroes to white men. But I was assured by the Abbe Gregoire (formerly Bishop of Blois) that Jefferson, in a private letter to him, confessed that he had seen cause to alter this opinion.

happiness of sensible being. There is a perpetual reciproca- C H A P.
tion of evil between a master and his slaves. His injustice III.
consigns them to their servile state; and the evil qualities that this state engenders in them tend continually to provoke his irascibility. His power inflicts their degradation; and their degradation at once provokes and facilitates the excesses of his power. Hence the commerce between master and slave tends to stimulate and exhibit all that is odious and revolting in human passion and conduct. The delicate susceptibility of women is exposed to the impression of this spectacle, and the imitative disposition of children exercised amidst its continual display. The female slaves regarding the freemen as a superior race of beings, lose alike the virtues and the rights of women in their intercourse with them, and introduce into rural life vices even more degrading to human character than those which are generated by the temptations of profligate cities. The freemen, habituated to consider the great majority of the females with whom they associate as an inferior race, are consequently exposed to an influence hostile to those sentiments and manners which constitute the moral grace and symbol of civilized life; and proportionally descend to the level of that barbarous state in which women are regarded merely as instruments of drudgery or ministers of voluptuousness. Every description of work that is committed to the slaves is performed with as much neglect and indolence as they dare to indulge, and is so degraded in common estimation, that the poorest freeman disdains to undertake it except when he is working for himself. As the numbers of the slaves are multiplied, the industry of the free is thus repressed by the extension of slave labour; and the safety of the state is endangered by the strength of a body of internal enemies ready to conspire against its tranquillity or to join its first invader.¹ The number of the slaves and gla-

¹ "I tremble for my country," says Jefferson, in his observations on the slave population of this province, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." Notes on Virginia. So early as the year 1687, we are told that "A plan of insurrection of the blacks was at this time discovered in the Northern neck, just in time to prevent its explosion." Burk. Seneca relates that it was once proposed at Rome to discriminate the slaves

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diators contributed to the downfall of Rome: and indeed every body politic, compounded of parts so heterogeneous as freemen and slaves, plainly contains within itself a principle of disease and corruption. Such a mixture tends also to pervert and confound the moral sentiments of all mankind, and to degrade the value of those free institutions which are seen to form a canopy for the shelter of domestic tyranny,¹ to mock one portion of the people with such liberty and dignity as jailors enjoy, and to load all the rest with such fetters as only felons should wear.

Such long consequences have guilt and injustice! The first introduction of slavery into a country plants an evil of which the full mischief is not perceived till in an after age, when it has attained an extent that renders its extirpation almost impossible. This consideration, without tending to mitigate our abhorrence of a system so fraught with evil and danger, mitigates the severity of our censure on those to whom the system already matured by long continuance, has unhappily descended. And even with regard to the race who first introduced it, we shall not fulfil the duty of fellow-men, if we omit to consider the apologies which may reasonably be supposed to have deluded their conscience and understanding, and veiled from their view the wickedness they committed and the misery they prepared. The negroes that were first brought to Virginia were enslaved before they came there, and by the purchase of the colonists were delivered from the hold of a slave ship and the peculiar and notorious cruelty of the Dutch. Some little good might seem thus at first to result from the commission of evil. When slaves were neither numerous nor formidable, they appear to have been kindly treated;² and

by a peculiar dress; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. This information is conveyed to the negroes by their colour; and this colour being always a mark of contempt, even those negroes who become free in countries where their race is generally enslaved, continue allied both by the most irritating feelings and by the sympathy they must entertain for men of the same complexion, with all those who remain in a state of bondage.

¹ *To dream of freedom in his slave's embrace*,—is represented with bitter satire and melancholy truth by an Irish bard, as the felicity of many an American planter.

² The treatment of slaves at Rome, latterly distinguished by the most enormous cruelty, was originally kind and humane. Plutarch, *Life of Coriolanus*. In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, it was found necessary to pass a law forbidding masters to kill their slaves on account of age or infirmity.

their masters perhaps intended to emancipate them at that CHAP.
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convenient season for adjusting the accounts of interest and conscience, which every added year and every addition to their numbers tended still farther to postpone.

Negro slavery lingered long in the settlements of the puritans in New England, and of the quakers in Pennsylvania. Las Cases, so distinguished by the warmth of his philanthropy, first suggested its introduction into Mexico and Peru; George Fox, the most intrepid and enthusiastic of reformers, demanded no more of his followers than a mitigation of its rigour in Barbadoes; and the illustrious philosopher, John Locke, renowned also as the champion of religious and political freedom, introduced an express sanction of it into the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. Georgia is the only one of the North American states in which slavery was expressly disallowed by the fundamental laws; but these laws were soon repealed; and in none of the other states has slavery proved a more rigorous and oppressive yoke than in Georgia. Considerations such as these are calculated to increase at once our indulgence for mankind, and our abhorrence of that insidious and formidable evil which has so signally baffled the penetration of the wise, and triumphed over the beneficence of the humane.

It is in those colonial plantations where the residence of the free inhabitants is merely temporary, and the slaves generally entrusted to the management of hired overseers, that slavery exhibits its worst features, and produces its most debasing effects. Wherever a respectable stationary population of free-men exists, a restraining principle arises to control and qualify these evil consequences. The harsher slave laws have been long since repealed in Virginia; and the treatment of the slaves in this province has latterly been noted for comparative mildness.¹ An Englishman who should suppose that humanity and delicacy could not exist in a commonwealth where slavery prevailed, would commit as great a practical error as an American who should maintain the incompatibility of those moral qualities with the spectacles of vice and misery exhibited in the great towns and public places of England. In both countries, doubtless, human character derives a taint

¹ Warden's United States.

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The other cause which has been alluded to as operating unfavourably on the prosperity of Virginia, is the inordinate cultivation of tobacco. As long as Virginia and Maryland were the only provinces of North America where this commodity was produced, their inhabitants devoted themselves almost exclusively to a culture which is attended with much inconvenience to those engaged in it, and no small disadvantage to their country even when moderately pursued. It requires extremely fatiguing labour from the cultivators, and exhausts the fertility of the soil: and, as little food of any kind is raised on the tobacco plantations, the men and cattle employed on them are badly fed, and the soil progressively impoverished.¹ This disadvantage was long experienced in Virginia; but has been diminished by the introduction into the markets of Europe, of the tobacco produce of territories more recently subjected to cultivation.²

¹ Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

² Priest's Travels in America. Warden.

BOOK II.

FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS

OF THE

NEW ENGLAND STATES,

TILL THE YEAR 1698.

BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the Northern Coasts of America.—Popham establishes a Colony at Fort Saint George.—Sufferings and Return of the Colonists.—Captain Smith's Voyage and Survey of the Country—which is named New England.—His ineffectual Attempt to conduct a Colony thither.—The Company relinquish the Design of colonizing New England.—History and Character of the Puritans.—Rise of the Brownists or Independents.—A Congregation of Independents retire to Holland—they resolve to settle in America—their Negotiation with King James—they arrive in Massachusetts—and found New Plymouth.—Hardships—and Virtue of the Colonists.—Their civil Institutions.—Community of Property.—Increase of civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny in England.—Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts.—Salem built.—Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First by an Association of Puritans.—Embarkation of the Emigrants—Arrival at Salem.—Their ecclesiastical Institutions.—Two persons banished from the Colony for Schism.—Intolerance of some of the Puritans.

WHEN James the First of England gave his sanction to the project of colonizing the vast district of North America which was comprehended at that time under the name of Virginia, he made a partition of the territory between two trading companies, and established the residence of the one at London, and of the other at Plymouth. If the object of this partition was to diminish the inconvenience of monopoly, and diffuse the benefit of colonial relations more extensively in England, the means were ill adapted to the end; and eventually the operation of this act of policy was far from corresponding with its design. The resources of the adventurers who had already prepared to undertake the enterprise of colonization, were divided so unequally, and yet so much to the disadvantage of all parties, that even the more powerful com-

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pany was barely enabled to maintain a feeble and precarious settlement in Virginia ; while the weaker, without ability to accomplish the purpose of its institution, obtained little more than the privilege of debarring the rest of the world from attempting it. We have seen that the southern colony, though promoted by a corporation which reckoned among its members some of the richest and most considerable persons in the state, and enjoyed the advantage of being situated in a town which then engrossed almost all the commercial wealth of England, even with the aid of these favourable circumstances, made but slow and laborious advances to a secure establishment. The Plymouth company possessing much narrower resources, and a less advantageous situation, its efforts were proportionally feeble and inadequate.

Attempts
of the
Plymouth
company
to colonize
the north-
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of Ame-
rica.

The most conspicuous members of the Plymouth company were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth fort, and Sir John Gilbert, nephew of that distinguished adventurer, who has already engaged our notice as the first patentee of queen Elizabeth, and the earliest leader of emigrants to America. Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their measures, the Plymouth company, shortly after their association, despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories ; but soon received the mortifying intelligence that it had been attacked and captured by the Spaniards, who still pretended a right to exclude every other people from the navigation of the American seas. The chief justice and his friends, however, were too much bent on the prosecution of their purpose to be deterred by this disaster. At his own expense, Popham equipped and despatched another vessel to resume the survey ; and having received a favourable report of the appearance of the country, he availed himself of the impression produced by the tidings to raise a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony. Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, a hundred emigrants, embarking in two vessels, repaired to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia ; and, landing in autumn, took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built a strong hold called Fort Saint George. The dis-

May,
1607.

Popham
estab-
lishes a
colony at
Fort St.
George—

strict where they established themselves was rocky and barren, and their provisions so scanty, that they were obliged, soon after their arrival, to send back all but forty-five of their number. The winter proved extremely severe, and confined this small remnant to their miserable dwelling, and a helpless contemplation of the dreary waste that surrounded them. Disease, the offspring of scarcity and hardship, augmented the general gloom; and before the return of spring, several of the adventurers, and among others their president, Henry Popham, had sunk into the grave. With the spring, arrived a vessel laden with supplies from England; but the intelligence that accompanied these supplies more than counterbalanced the satisfaction they afforded; for the colonists were now informed of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, the most powerful of their patrons, and most active of their benefactors. Their resolution was completely subdued by so many misfortunes: and, unanimously exclaiming against longer continuance in those dismal scenes, they forsook the settlement and returned to England, which they filled with the most disheartening accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia.¹ The American historians have been careful to note that this disastrous expedition originated with the judge, who (odious and despicable in every part of his professional career) had, three years before, presided, with the most scandalous injustice, at the trial of Raleigh, and condemned to the death of a traitor, the man to whom both England and America had been so greatly beholden.

The miscarriage of this colonial adventure, and the evil report that was raised against the land, deterred the Plymouth company for some time from any farther attempt to plant a settlement in Northern Virginia, and produced an impression on the minds of the people of England very unfavourable to emigration to that territory. For several years, the operations of the company were confined to a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, and a traffic in peltry and oil with the natives. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune; and the introduction of Captain Smith into their service seemed to

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sufferings
and return
of the co-
lonists.

1608.

¹ Smith's History of Virginia, New England, &c. Stith's Hist. of Virginia. Neal's Hist. of New England. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts.

BOOK 11. betoken more vigorous and successful enterprise. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some other leading members of the Plymouth Company, justly appreciating the merit of this eminent man, were fain to engage his valuable services, which the London Company had so unworthily neglected. Six years after the abandonment of the settlement of Sagahadoc, two vessels were despatched, under the command of Captain Smith and Captain Hunt, on a voyage of trade and discovery to the Plymouth company's territories. Smith, having concluded his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing, and, accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of the country, surveyed its condition, explored with care and diligence the whole coast, from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and composed a map, in which its features were accurately delineated. On his return to England, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the description of the country, that he bestowed on it the name of New England, which it has ever since retained.

Captain Smith's voyage and survey of the country—
which is named New England.

The successful voyage of Captain Smith, and the favourable account that he gave of the territory, though they contributed not a little to stimulate the vigour of commercial adventure, could not overcome the general aversion to a permanent settlement in this region, which the misfortunes of the first colonists had created in England. The impediments to a colonial establishment in this quarter of America, besides, were greatly increased by the conduct of Hunt, who had been associated with Smith in the late voyage. That sordid and profligate man, unwilling that the benefit of the existing narrow traffic with the company's territories, which was exclusively shared by himself and a few others who were aware of its advantages, should be more generally diffused by the formation of a colony, resolved to defeat the design by embroiling his countrymen with the natives; and for this purpose, having enticed a number of these people on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward voyage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service: but his mischievous purpose was accomplished; and the next vessel that returned

from New England brought intelligence of the vindictive hostilities of the savages. Undismayed by all these difficulties and dangers, Smith determined to make an effort for the colonization of the northern territory ; and having communicated a portion of his own resolute hope and spirit to some of the leading patentees, he was enabled, by their assistance, to equip a small squadron, and set sail at the head of a body of emigrants for New England. Thus far could energy prevail: but in a struggle with fate, farther advancement was impracticable; and Smith, who had now accomplished all that man could do, was destined to experience that all was unavailing. The voyage was one uninterrupted scene of disaster. After encountering a violent tempest, by which the vessels had nearly perished, and escaping more than once from the attacks of pirates, Smith was made prisoner by the commander of a French fleet, who mistook or pretended to mistake him for Captain Argal, and charged him with the guilt of the piratical enterprise which Argal had conducted in the preceding year against Port Royal.¹ On this unjust charge, Smith was separated from his crew, and detained long in captivity. It was happy for himself and for mankind that he lived to return to his country, and write the history of his travels, instead of reaching New England; where his blood would probably have stained the land which his genius and virtue had contributed to illustrate. Several years afterwards, the Plymouth company having discovered that an Indian named *Squanto*, one of the persons kidnapped by Hunt, had escaped from the Spaniards, and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, loaded him with kindness, and sent him back to New England, along with a small expedition commanded by one Dormer, who was instructed to avail himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly laboured to mollify his abused countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been condemned and punished in England, they refused to be pacified, and watching a favourable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dormer and several of his party, who, escaping with difficulty

C H A P.
I.

1615.

His ineffectual attempt to conduct a colony thither.

1619.

¹ B. i. chap. ii. *ante*.

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1619.
The com-
pany relin-
quish the
design of
colonizing
New Eng-
land.

from the hostile region, left Squanto behind to urge at more leisure and with better success his topics of apology and conciliation. Disgusted by so many disappointments, the company laid aside all thoughts of establishing colonies in New England. An insignificant traffic bounded their own adventures; and they exercised no farther their dominion over the territory than by disposing of small portions of the northern quarter of it to private adventurers, who occupied them in summer as mercantile factories or victualling stations for the use of vessels resorting thither for trade.¹

We have sufficient assurance that the course of this world is not governed by chance; and that the series of events which it exhibits is regulated by divine ordinance, and adapted to purposes which from their transcendent wisdom and infinite range, often elude the grasp of created capacity. As it could not, then, be without design, so it seems to have been for no common object that discomfiture was thus entailed on the counsels of princes, the schemes of the wise, and the efforts of the brave. It was for no ordinary people that the land was reserved, and of no common qualities or vulgar superiority that it was ordained to be the prize. New England was the destined asylum of oppressed piety and virtue; and its colonization, denied to the pretensions of greatness and the efforts of might, was reserved for men whom the great and mighty despised for their insignificance, and persecuted for their integrity. The recent growth of the Virginian colony, and the repeated attempts to form a settlement in New England, naturally attracted to this quarter the eyes of men who felt little reluctance to forsake a country where, for conscience's sake, they had already incurred the loss of temporal ease and enjoyment; whom persecution had fortified to the endurance of hardship, and piety had taught to despise it. It was at this juncture accordingly, that the project of colonizing New England was undertaken by the Puritans; a body of men of whose rise, sentiments, and previous history, it is proper that we here subjoin some account.

Of all the national churches of Europe, which at the era of the Reformation renounced the doctrine and revolted from the

History
and cha-
racter of
the puri-
tans.

¹ Smith. Neal.

dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of the separation had been so discreditable, or the immediate proceedings to which it gave rise so unreasonable and inequitable, as the church of England. This arose partly from the circumstance of the alteration in this church having mainly originated with the temporal magistrate, and partly from the character of the individual by whom this interposition of magisterial authority was exerted. In the Palatinate, in Brandenburg, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland, where the reform proceeded from the general conviction, the doctrine and constitution of the national church corresponded with the religious sentiments of the people. The biblical christianity taught by Calvin and Luther (with varieties occasioned by variety of human sentiment, attainment, and capacity) superseded the traditional dogmas of the church of Rome; and the primitive simplicity of the presbyterian administration (with similar varieties of similar origin) superseded the pageantry of her ceremonial and the pomp of her constitution. In England, the reformation originating from a very different source, its institutions received a tincture from qualities proportionally different. The same haughty and imperious disposition that had prompted Henry the Eighth to abolish the authority of the church of Rome in his dominions, regulated all his views and proceedings in constructing a substitute for the abrogated system. Abetted by a crew of servile dependants and sordid nobles, whom he enriched with the spoils of the plundered monasteries, and by a compliant House of Commons, whose profession of faith veered about with every variation of the royal creed, he paid no respect whatever, in the ecclesiastical institutions which he successively established, to the sentiments of the body of the people—a portion of his subjects to whose petitions he once answered, by a public proclamation, that they were “but brutes and inexpert folk,” and as unfit to advise him as blind men were to judge of colours.¹ His object was to substitute himself and his successors as heads of the church in place of the pope; and for the maintenance of this usurped dominion, he retained, both in the ceremonies of worship and the constitution of the clerical order, a great

¹Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

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deal of the machinery which his predecessor in the supremacy had found useful. The unbridled vehemence of his temper detracted somewhat from the policy of his devices; and greatly disguised their aspect as a politic system, by that show of good faith and sincerity which accompanied all his actions, and which was but the natural result of sincere and impetuous selfishness, and of a presumptuous and undoubting conviction of the superiority of his own understanding and the infallibility of its dictates.¹ While he rigidly denied the right of private judgment to his subjects, his own incessant and imperious exercise of this right continually tempted them to partake the satisfaction it seemed to afford him; and the frequent variations of the creeds he promulgated, at once excited a spirit of speculation akin to his own, and practically refuted the only pretence that could recommend or entitle his judgment to the implicit assent of fallible men. The pope, expressly maintaining that he could never be in the wrong, was disabled from correcting either his own errors or those bequeathed to him by his predecessors. Henry, merely pretending to the privilege of being always in the right, defeated this pretension by the variety and inconsistency of the systems to which he applied it. While he insisted on retaining much of the peculiar doctrine of the church of Rome, he attacked, in its infallibility, a tenet not only important in itself, but the sole sanction and foundation of a great many others. Notwithstanding all his exertions, nay, promoted indeed by some part of his own conduct, a spirit of religious inquiry began to arise among the multitude of professors who blindly or interestedly had followed the fortunes and the variations of the royal creed: and the knowledge of divine truth, combined with a growing regard for simplicity of divine worship, arising first in the higher classes, spread downwards through the successive grades of society in this and the following reigns. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction in various instances of decapitation, torture, and burning, for the

¹ The public disputation which he held with one of his subjects, the noble-minded and unfortunate Lambert, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, was, perhaps, regarded at the time as an act of admirable zeal and most generous condescension. It might have merited this praise, if the horrid death by which he revenged the impotence of his logic, did not prove it to have been an overflowing of arrogance and vain glory.

crime of heresy during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully C H A P.
I. he had embraced the character as well as the pretensions of the haughtiest pontiffs that had ever filled the Romish see,¹ and how ineffectually he had laboured to impose his own heterogeneous system of opinions on the understandings of his subjects. Even in his lifetime, the protestant doctrines had spread far beyond the limits of any of the peculiar creeds which he had adopted and promulgated; and in their illegitimate extent had made numerous proselytes in his court and kingdom. The propagation of them was aided by the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, which he vainly endeavoured to prevent, and which enabled his people to draw truth for themselves unstinted and unadulterated from its everlasting wells. The open profession of those illicit opinions was in many instances repressed by the terror of his inflexible cruelty, and by the influence over his measures which his lay and clerical courtiers found it easy to obtain by feigning implicit submission to his capricious and impetuous temper.² The temptations which these men were exposed to, proved fatal in some instances to their integrity; and several of them (even the virtuous Cranmer) concurred, though reluctantly, in punishing by a cruel death, the open profession of sentiments which they secretly cherished in their own breasts. They were afterwards compelled themselves to drink of the same cup of martyrdom; and enabled to make some atonement to the cause of truth by the heroism with which, in Mary's bloody reign, they suffered for the uprightness which they had persecuted before.

By the death of Henry the Eighth, his protestant subjects were exempted from the necessity of farther dissimulation. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the catholic doctrines were wholly expunged from the national creed, and the fundamental articles of the protestant faith recognised and established by law. As among other practices of the preceding reign, the absurd and tyrannical device of promoting uniformity of faith

¹ One of his laws (31 Henry VIII. cap. 14.) bears the presumptuous title of "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the christian religion."

² Lord Herbert.

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and worship by persecution was still pursued,¹ the influence of temporal fear and favour contributed, no doubt, to encumber the protestant church with many reluctant and hypocritical professors. In the hope of reconciling the English nation as extensively as possible to the system which they had established, the ministers of Edward preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial of worship as they judged likely to gratify the taste and predilections of minds that still hankered after catholic pageantry. They rather yielded in this respect to the necessity of the times, than indulged their own sentiments or followed out their principles; and plainly insinuated their opinion, that whenever the public mind was sufficiently prepared for it, a farther reformation should be introduced into the establishment,—by inserting a prayer to this purpose in the Liturgy.² But in the prosecution of this temporizing policy, the rulers of the English reformed church encountered a spirit of resistance, originating in the protestant body itself. During the late reign the disaffection that had been cherished in secret towards the national church had not confined itself to the doctrines savouring of popery, which she retained, and which many protestants connected in their opinion and esteem with the ceremonial rites and clerical habits that had for ages been their inveterate associate and distinctive livery. With their enmity to the doctrines of the catholic church, they combined an aversion to those ceremonies which her ministers had too often rendered subservient to imposture; which seemed to owe their survivance in the national system to the same error that had long retained so much doctrinal heresy; and which diverted the mind from that spiritual worship expressly claimed for the Most High in the Scriptures of truth. These sentiments, which were subsequently matured into the doctrines of the puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English protestants: but their operation was as yet neither very powerful nor extensive. One of the most remarkable manifestations of their influence

¹ 2 & 3 Edward VI. cap. i. Burnet's History of the Reformation. Rymer.

² Neal.

that has been transmitted to us, proceeded from Bishop Hooper, who, in the reign of Edward, refused to be consecrated to his office in the superstitious habits (as he deemed them) appropriated by the church to the episcopal order. His protestant opinions had rendered him an exile from England during the latter part of the preceding reign, and his puritan sentiments had been confirmed by the conversation of the presbyterian teachers, with whom he associated during his residence abroad. Cranmer and Ridley, who were afterwards his fellow martyrs under the persecution of Mary, resorted to arguments, threats, entreaties, and imprisonment, to overcome Hooper's objections; and it was not without great difficulty and reluctance that his rigid spirit condescended to terminate the dispute by a compromise.¹ The sentiments which had thus received the sanction of a man distinguished no less by the purity and elevation of his character than by the eminence of his station in the church, continued to manifest themselves throughout the short reign of Edward; and there was scarcely a rite of the established worship, or an article of ecclesiastical apparel, that escaped objection and contentious discussion.² The defenders of the practices that were thus assailed, (or at least the more enlightened of this party,) did not contend that they were of divine appointment, or in themselves of essential importance. They maintained that they were in themselves inoffensive, and that by long establishment and inveterate association they had taken possession of the reverence of the people, and contributed to attach their affections to the national worship. They admitted that, as useless appendages, it was desirable that time and reason should gradually obliterate such practices; but insisted that it would be both unwise and illiberal to abolish them abruptly, and at the risk of unhinging the important sentiments with which they had accidentally connected themselves. This reasoning was very unsatisfactory to the puritans, who rejected such temporizing policy as the counsel of lukewarm piety and worldly wisdom, and regarded with abhorrence the mixture of superstitious attractions with the motives to that which should be entirely a reasonable

¹ Burnet. Heylin's History of the Reformation.² Strype.

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service:¹ and whatever weight the arguments of the prevailing party may be considered to possess, they certainly cannot be allowed to justify their violent imposition of observances, which at best they regarded as indifferent, on persons who deemed them sinful and pernicious. But the sentiments of the puritans, whether supported or not by superior weight of reason, were overborne by the weight of superior numbers; and might perhaps have gradually died away, if the reign of Edward had been much farther prolonged, or his sceptre been transmitted to a protestant successor. But the reign of Mary was appointed not only to purify the protestant body, by separating the true from the false or formal professors, but to radicate every protestant sentiment by exposing it to the fiery test of tyrannical rage and persecution.

The administration of this Queen was productive of events that tended to revive and disseminate the puritan sentiments, and at the same time to confirm the opposition of some of their adversaries. During the heat of her bloody persecution, many of the English protestants forsook their country, and took refuge in the Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. There, in regulating for themselves the forms and ordinances of divine worship, their ancient disputes naturally recurred, and were animated by the approach of the two parties to an equality of numbers that had never before subsisted between them, and protracted by the utter want of a spirit of mutual forbearance, and the absence of any tribunal from which an authoritative decision could be obtained. The puritans beheld with pleasure in the continental churches the establishment of a constitution and ritual which had been the object of their own warm approbation and earnest desire; and they either composed for themselves a formula of religious association on a similar model, or entered into communion with the churches established in the places where they resided. Their opponents, on the other hand, clung more firmly than ever to their ancient practices: they refused to surrender any one of the institutions of the faith, for the sake of which they had forsaken their country; and they plumed themselves on reproducing, amidst the desolation of their church at home,

¹ Strype.

an entire and accurate model of her ordinances in the scene of their exile. Both parties were willing to have united in church fellowship with each other, if either could have yielded in the dispute concerning forms of office, habits, and ceremonies. But though each considered itself strongest in faith, neither felt disposed on that account to succumb beneath what it deemed the infirmities of the other; and though united in the great fundamental points of christian belief, and associated by the common calamity that rendered them fellow exiles in a foreign land, their fruitless controversies separated them more widely than they had ever been before, and inflamed them with mutual dislike and animosity.¹ On the death of Mary both parties returned to England: the one joyfully expecting to see their ancient style of worship restored; the other more firmly wedded to their puritan sentiments by the opportunity they had obtained of freely indulging them, and entertaining (in common with many who had remained at home) an increased antipathy to the habits and ceremonies which the recent ascendancy and measures of catholic bigots had strongly associated with the odious features of superstitious delusion and tyrannic cruelty.

The views which the puritans indulged on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, were seconded by the disposition of not a few even of their opponents among the leading protestant churchmen who had weathered the storm at home. Several of the most distinguished persons of this class expressed the strongest reluctance, in restoring the protestant constitution, to interweave with its fundamental canons, any subordinate or merely ceremonial regulations that might be offensive to men endeared to them by their common calamity, and so recently associated with them as confessors not for the forms but for the substance of religion. Some of the puritans, no doubt, were bent on reducing the model of the church to a strict conformity with their own peculiar sentiments and standard of propriety; and some of their opponents were as eager to prohibit and suppress every trace of puritan practice.² The majority, however, as well as the leading members of both parties, were sincerely desirous to promote an accommo-

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¹ Neal.² Ibid.

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dation on the principle of mutual forbearance ; and willingly agreed that the disputed habits and ceremonies should be retained in the church, as observances of a discretionary and indifferent nature, not to be controverted by the one party nor enforced by the other, but left to be confirmed or abolished by the silent progress of sentiment and opinion.¹ But these wise and candid concessions were frustrated by the views and temper of the queen ; whose authority soon defaced the fair prospect that had arisen of concord and happiness, and involved the people committed to her care in a long and widening scene of strife, malignity, and misery. Elizabeth inherited the headstrong and arrogant disposition of her father, and his taste for splendid pageantry. And though she had been educated with her brother Edward, and her understanding had received a strong tincture of protestant opinion, her sentiments inclined her, with manifest bias, in favour of the rites, discipline, and even doctrine of the catholics—of every thing, in short, that could lend an imposing aspect to the establishment of which she was the supreme head, and extend the dominion which she was resolved to maintain over the clergy. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the real presence, and rebuked another for mentioning with little reverence the catholic notion of an inherent virtue in the symbol of the cross.² She desired to make the clergy priests, and not preachers ; discouraged their sermons ; and would have interdicted them from marriage had she not been restrained by the remonstrances of her minister Lord Burleigh.³ Disregarding the wishes and entreaties both of churchmen and puritans, she restored King Edward's constitutions with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy which were offensive to the catholics ; and caused a law to be framed, commanding, under the penalties of fine, imprisonment, and deprivation of ministerial office, a strict uniformity of religious worship.⁴ This was the first step in a line of policy which the church of England has had deep and lasting cause to deplore, and which, by compelling thousands of her best and ablest ministers reluctantly to forsake her communion, afflicted her

¹ Styrpe's Life of Parker. Neal.² Heylin.³ Styrpe.⁴ Neale.

with a decay of internal piety, of which the traces continued to be visible after the lapse of many generations. C H A P.
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But this law was for some time neither strictly nor generally executed. The queen could not at once find a sufficient number of persons fitted to sustain the dignity of episcopal elevation, and yet willing to become the instruments of her arbitrary designs; nor could all her efforts for a while excite general strife and ill-will among men, of whom so many, though differing from each other on subordinate points, had but lately been united by community of sentiment and suffering in the noblest cause that could interest human hearts. Her first bench of bishops were not only eager to clear themselves of the reproach of having composed or approved the existing laws,¹ but by a general forbearance to enforce them, enabled the puritan ministers and the practices of puritanism to obtain a considerable footing in the church. And though she reprimanded the primate Parker for his negligence, and at length stimulated him to the exertion of some rigour in the execution of the act of uniformity, it was far from receiving general prevalence; and by various acts of connivance on the one side, and prudent reserve on the other, the puritans were enabled to enjoy the semblance of toleration. Their tranquillity was promoted by the succession of Grindall to the primacy. The liberal principles and humane disposition of this man revolted against the tyrannical injustice which he was required to administer; and at the expense of his own imprisonment, and the disfavour of his temporal sovereign, he prolonged the duration of lenient policy, and the peace of the church.²

At length, on the death of Grindall, the primacy was bestowed on Whitgift, a man of severe temper, a rigid votary of the established system of ecclesiastical discipline and policy, and an implacable adversary of the puritans, against whom he had repeatedly directed the hostility of his pen, and now gladly wielded a more formidable weapon. From this period all the force of the law was spent in uninter-

¹ In their letters to their friends at home and abroad, they not only reprobate the obnoxious institutions, but promise to withstand them "till they be sent back to hell, from whence they came, to sow discord, confusion, and vain formality in the church." Burnet. Neal.

² Strype's Life of Grindall. Neal.

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ance. For the purpose of imposing a load of ceremonies, which they could not pretend to characterize as requisitions essential to salvation, they committed such oppression as rendered the ceremonies themselves ten-fold more obnoxious to those persons to whom even indulgent treatment would have failed to recommend them; and roused the opposition of others who would willingly have complied with the ceremonial ordinances if they had been proposed to them merely as matters of convenient observance, but revolted from them, as fraught with danger and mischief, when it was attempted to bind them on the conscience, and place them on a level with the most sacred obligations. The chief fruits of this increased severity were the enkindling of great additional zeal and fervour in the minds of the puritans; the multiplication of their numbers by the powerful influence of sympathy with their courage, and compassion for their sufferings; and a growing abhorrence in their body to the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny. It is certain that the puritans of those times were at first exceedingly averse to separate from the church of England; and their ministers were still more reluctant to abet a schism and renounce their preferments. They willingly allowed her to be a true christian church, and merely claimed indulgence with regard to a few ceremonies which did not affect the substance of her constitution. But the injurious treatment which they received, held out a premium to very different considerations, and at once aroused their passions, stimulated their inquiries, and extended their objections. Expelled from the national church, they were forced to inquire if they could not do without that which they found they could not have; and were easily led to question if the genuine features of a christian church could be recognised in that society which not only rejected but persecuted them for a conscientious adherence, in a matter of ceremonial observance, to what they believed to be the will of God. As the puritan principles spread through the mass of society, and encountered in their progress a greater variety of character in their votaries, and of treatment from their adversaries, considerable differences and inequalities of sentiment and conduct appeared in different portions of the puritan body. Some of

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them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent. They combined the doctrines of the New with the practices of the Old Testament, in a manner which will not excite the wonder of those who recollect that the very first assembly of Christians who were collected in the world committed the same error, and so far forgot the meekness they had been commanded to evince, as even in the presence of their Divine Master to propose the invocation of fire from heaven on the men who had insulted them. But the instances of this spirit were at first exceedingly rare; and it was not till the following reigns that it prevailed either strongly or widely. In general, the oppressed puritans conducted themselves with the fortitude of heroes and the patience of saints; and, what is surprising, they made more zealous and successful efforts to maintain their loyalty, than the queen and the bishops did to extinguish it. Many, in defiance of every danger, followed the preaching of their ministers into the highways and fields, or assembled privately in conventicles, which the general sympathy, or the connivance of their secret partisans within the church, sometimes preserved from detection. Others reluctantly tarried within the pale of the national church, unweariedly pursuing their ineffectual attempts to promote parliamentary interference in behalf of the puritan cause, and casting a wistful eye on the presumptive succession of a prince who had been educated in a presbyterian society. Some at length openly disclaimed the national establishment, and were led, by the cruel excesses of magisterial power to the conviction, that magisterial power ought to be banished entirely from the administration of the kingdom of Christ.¹

The proceedings of the queen were, doubtless, cordially abetted by the angry zeal of those churchmen who had fled from England in the preceding reign, and had partaken the controversy that arose with the puritans during their common exile. But the whole civil and ecclesiastical policy of the present reign was mainly and essentially the offspring of Elizabeth's own character. The puritan writers, bestowing an undue proportion of their resentment on the persons whose

¹ Strype's Life of Whitgift. Fuller's Church History. Neal.

functions rendered them the instruments as well as the apologists of the queen's ecclesiastical system, have been disposed to impute the tyrannical features of this system exclusively to the bishops, and particularly to Whitgift, whose influence with Elizabeth they ascribe to his constant habit of addressing her on his knees.¹ But Whitgift, in seconding her enmity to the puritans, did no more than coincide with her favourite and declared policy : with zeal half courtly, half ecclesiastical, he flattered a disposition which she had already unequivocally manifested, and swam with the stream of that resolute determination which, he saw, would have its course. The abject homage which he paid her was nothing more than she was accustomed generally to receive ; and the observation which it has attracted from the puritans, denotes rather a peculiarity in their own sentiments or manners, than any thing remarkable in the conduct of their adversary. Not one of her subjects was permitted to address the queen without kneeling ; wherever she turned her eye, every one was expected to fall on his knees ; and even in her absence, the nobility, who were alone deemed worthy to cover her table, made three genuflexions every time they approached or retired from it in the performance of their menial duty.² This was an exact counterpart of the homage rendered by the catholics to the Real Presence, which they believed to reside in the Host ; and the sentiments which it tended to implant both in the prince who received, and the subjects who rendered it, were confirmed by the language of parliament, in which the queen was continually flattered with attributes and praise befitting the homage of creatures to their Creator. Nor was this servile system of manners peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth. On the contrary, it had been carried even to a greater extent under the government of her predecessors ; and her ministers frequently noted and deplored the decay of that *fearfulness and reverence of their superiors* which had formerly characterised the inferior estates of the realm.³ Sense and reason shared the ignominy and degradation of manners ;

¹ Neal.

² Hentzner's Journey into England in 1598. This abject ceremonial was abolished by King James, who, though highly pleased with adulation, found himself embarrassed by a mode of displaying it so ill suited to his awkward manners and ungainly appearance.

³ Hayne's Collection of State Papers.

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arrogance disordered the understanding of the prince, while servility deformed the sentiments of the people; and if Henry the Eighth, by a royal proclamation, assured the populace that they were *brutes*,—the same populace, in their petitions against his measures, represented the promotion of *low-born persons* to public trust and honour, as one of the most serious and intolerable grievances that they had to complain of.¹

The sentiments which such practices and manners tended to form in the mind of the queen, enhanced the displeasure with which she regarded the puritans, who were fated to offend her by their political conduct, as well as their religious opinions. Many persons of consideration among them obtained seats in parliament, where they endeavoured to nourish a spirit of liberty, and direct its energy to the protection of their persecuted brethren. Impelled by the severity of the restraints they experienced, to investigate the boundaries of that authority by which such restraints were imposed,—and regulating their sentiments rather by the consequences they foresaw than by the precedents they remembered,—they questioned the most inveterate abuses, and obtained the confidence of the people by showing themselves the indefatigable and fearless defenders of the oppressed. In the annals of those times, we find them continually supporting petitions in parliament against monopolies, and advocating motions for reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. Attracting popular favour, and willing to undergo the burden of parliamentary attendance, they gradually multiplied their numbers in the House of Commons, and acquired an ascendant over its deliberations. The queen, observing that the puritans were the sole abettors of measures calculated to restrict her prerogative, was easily led to ascribe the peculiarity of their religious and political opinions to the same source—a malignant aversion to dignities, and mutinous impatience of subordination. Their reluctance to render to the Deity that ceremonious homage which the most illustrious persons in the land rendered to herself,—and their inclination to curtail her authority,—which from no other quarter experienced resistance,—seemed to her the manifest proofs of an

¹ Lord Herbert.

insolent disregard, no less of the Supreme Being than of her-
self, His acknowledged vicegerent and representative; a pre-
sumptuous insurrection of spirit against the reverence due to
God, and the loyalty due to the prince.¹ Nothing could be
more unjust and fallacious than this royal reasoning. The
religion, as well as the loyalty, of the puritans, was the less
ceremonious, only because it was the more reflective, pro-
found, and substantial. To preserve an unstained conscience,
they encountered the extremities of ecclesiastical rigour. Not-
withstanding the most oppressive and tyrannical treatment,
they exhibited a resolute constancy of regard to their sove-
reign. And neither intimidated by danger nor dispirited by
defeat, they maintained a continual effort to check the ex-
cesses of despotic authority, and to rear and cherish the
infant liberties of their country. They have been charged
with a sour and caustic spirit, by those who forced them to
eat their bread in bitterness and carry their lives in their
hands; of a neglect of general literature, and an exclusive
study of the Bible, by those who destroyed their writings,
committed the press to episcopal licensers, and deprived them
of every source of comfort and direction but what the Bible
could supply; of an exaggerated estimate of little matters, by
those who rendered such matters the occasion of cruel suffer-
ing and enormous wrong to them; of a stern jealousy of civil
power, by those who made it continually their interest to
question and abridge the authority by which they were op-
pressed. A great philosopher and historian, who will not be
suspected of any undue partiality for these people, has been
constrained to acknowledge that the puritans were the pre-
servers of civil and religious liberty in England.² It was a

¹ In a speech from the throne, she informed the Commons (after a candid confession, that she knew nobody who had read or reflected as much as herself) that whoever attacked the constitutions of the church, slandered her as its supreme head, divinely appointed; and that, if the papists were inveterate enemies to her person, the modern sectaries were no less formidable to all regal government. She added, that she was determined to suppress their overboldness in presumptuously scanning the will of God Almighty. D'Ewes' Account of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments. The cruel law that was passed in the thirty fifth year of the queen's reign, against all ecclesiastical recusants, is entitled "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," and was intended, as the preamble declares, to repress the evil practices of "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,"—synonymous descriptions of guilt in the estimation of Elizabeth.

² "So absolute indeed was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the puritans alone; and it was to this

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Brownists
or Inde-
pendents.

scion of the same stock that was destined to propagate these blessings in America.

The minds of a considerable party among the puritans had been gradually prepared to disclaim the authority of the national church, and to deny the lawfulness of holding communion with it; insomuch that when these sentiments were first publicly proclaimed by Robert Brown in 1586, they readily gained the assent and open profession of multitudes. Brown, who obtained the distinction of bestowing his name on a sect, which derived very little credit from the appellation, was a young clergyman, of good family, endowed with a restless, intrepid disposition, a fiery temper, and an insatiable thirst for controversy. Encountering the wrath of the ecclesiastics with fiercer wrath, and trampling on their arrogance with more than clerical pride, he roamed about the country, inveighing against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, and episcopal ordination of ministers, and exulting, above all, in the boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. His impetuous and illiberal spirit accelerated the publication of opinions which were not yet matured in the puritan body, and which, but for his unseasonable interposition and perverting influence, might sooner have been ripened into the system of the Independents. The queen and the bishops applied the usual remedy of persecution to this innovation, with even more than the usual evidence of the unfitness of such instrumentality to accomplish their design. Supported by powerful arguments, maintained with zeal and courage, and opposed by cruelties that disgraced the name of religion, the principles of the Brownists spread widely through the land. Brown himself, and a congregation more immediately attached to him, expatriated to Middleburgh, in Zealand, where they were permitted to cultivate their opinions without molestation. But Brown had collected around him spirits too congenial to his own, to preserve their union when the strong band of oppression was withdrawn.

sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." Hume's England. Again, "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people." Ibid.

The congregation crumbled into parties, and was soon dissolved: and Brown, returning to England, rejoined the national church, and, contracting dissolute habits, ended his days in indolence and contempt. But the doctrines which he had been the means of introducing to public notice had firmly rooted themselves in the puritan body, and received daily accessions to the numbers and respectability of their votaries.¹

The Brownists did not dissent from the church of England in any of her articles of faith, but they accounted her ritual and discipline unscriptural and superstitious, and all her sacraments and ordinances invalid; and they renounced communion, not only with her, but with every other protestant church that was not constructed on the same model as their own. Their model was derived from the closest imitation of the apostolical institutions delineated in scripture. When a church or congregation was to be formed, all who desired to be members of it, professed the particulars of their faith in each others presence, and signed a covenant by which they obliged themselves to make the bible and its ordinances the guide of their conduct. Each congregation formed an independent church, and the admission or exclusion of members resided with the brethren composing it. Their ecclesiastical officers were elected from among themselves, and invested with their several charges of preaching the gospel, administering the sacramental ordinances, and relieving the poor, after fasting and prayer, by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not account the priesthood a distinct order, nor the ministerial character indelible, but deemed that as the appointment of the church conferred on a minister his function (which in its exercise, too, was limited to the special body to which he was attached), so the same authority was sufficient to deprive him of it. It was permitted to any one of the brethren to exercise *the liberty of prophesying*, which meant the addressing of occasional exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them, after sermory, to promulgate questions and considerations, and reason upon the doctrines that had been preached.² The condition to which the puritans were reduced by their oppressors, favoured the acceptance of all that was separating

¹ Fuller. Neal.² Neal.

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and unsocial in the principles of the Brownist teachers ; for as they could assemble only by stealth, it was impossible to preserve a regular intercourse between their churches, or to ascertain how far they mutually agreed in doctrine and discipline.

Against these men, in whose characters were united more piety, virtue, courage, and loyalty than any other portion of her people displayed, did Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical counsellors direct the whole fury of the law. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in the year 1591, for having published a defence of their tenets, which he entitled *A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End*. This performance, consistently with Elizabeth's maxim that whoever attacked the established church slandered the queen, was regarded as a political libel, and Udall was arraigned for a capital felony. In conformity with the barbarous jurisprudence which then prevailed in England, the witnesses against the prisoner were not confronted with him ; his proposition to adduce exculpatory evidence was disallowed, as an affront to the majesty of the crown ; and because he refused at the bar to swear that he was not the author of the book, his refusal was urged against him as the strongest proof of his guilt. When he was told by one of the judges that a book replete with sentiments so inconsistent with the established institutions, tended to the overthrow of the state by the provocation of rebellion, he replied, " My lords, that be far from me ; for we teach that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight withall, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life if he would recant ; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. " And I am ready to receive it," exclaimed this magnanimous man ; " for I protest before God, (not knowing that I am to live an hour) that the cause is good, and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for the cause." ¹ He

¹ Howell's State Trials. It is remarkable, that although one devoted victim of royal vengeance and persecution (Sir Nicholas Throgmorton) was enabled to escape during the reign of Mary, not one of the objects of Elizabeth's hostility was equally fortunate. A great addition to the power, as well as the pretensions of the first pro-

was condemned to die ; and being still urged to submit to the queen, he willingly expressed his regret that any of his writings should have given her offence, and disclaimed any such wish or intention, but firmly refused to disown what he believed to be truth, or to renounce liberty of conscience. By the interest of some powerful friends, a conditional pardon was obtained for him ; but before the terms of it could be adjusted, or the queen prevailed on to sign it, he died in prison. Penry, Greenwood, Barrow, and Dennis, of whom the first two were clergymen, and the others laymen, were soon after tried on similar charges, and perished by the hands of the executioner. A pardon was offered to them if they would retract their profession ; but, inspired by a courage which no earthly motive could overcome, they clung to their principles, and left the care of their lives to Heaven. Some more were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the discourses of the Brownists. Many others endured the torture of severe imprisonment, and numerous families were reduced to indigence by heavy fines.¹ As the most virtuous and honourable are ever, on such occasions, most exposed to danger, every stroke of the oppressor's arm is aimed at those very qualities in his adversaries that constitute his own defence and security ; and, hence, severities so odious to mankind, and so calculated to unite by a strong sympathy the minds of the spectators and the sufferers, are more likely to diminish the virtue than the numbers of a party. By dint of long continuance, and of the exertion of their influence on a greater variety of human character, they finally divested a great many of the puritans of the spirit of meekness and non-resistance for which the fathers of the party had been so highly distinguished. But this fruit was not gathered till a subsequent reign ; and their first effect was not only to multiply the numbers, but to confirm the virtue of the puritans. When persecution had as yet but invigorated their fortitude without inspiring ferocity, a portion of this people was happily conducted to the retreat of America, there to plant and extend

testant sovereigns of England, was derived from their assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy previously ascribed to the Roman Pontiff.

¹ Strype's Life of Whitgift. Fuller. Neal.

B O O K I. the principles of their cause,—while their brethren in England remained behind to revenge its accumulated wrongs.

When the queen was informed, by Dr. Reynolds, of the calm piety which the martyrs of her cruelty had displayed,—how they had blessed their persecuting sovereign, and turned the scaffold to which she had consigned them, into an altar whence they had prayed for her long and happy reign,—her heart was touched with a sentiment of remorse, and she expressed regret for having taken their lives away. But repentance with all mankind is too often but a fruitless anguish ; and princes have been known to bewail, even with tears, the mortality of multitudes whom they were conducting to slaughter, and the shortness of that life which their own selfish and sanguinary ambition was contributing still farther to abridge. Elizabeth, so far from alleviating, increased the legislative severities whose effects she had deplored ; and was fated never to see her errors till it was too late to repair them. In the year 1593, a few months after the executions which we have alluded to, a new and severer law was enacted against the puritans. These sectaries were not only increasing their numbers every day, but furnishing so many votaries of the Brownist or independent doctrines, that, in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the introduction of this measure, Sir Walter Raleigh stated, that the numbers of professed Brownists alone then amounted to twenty thousand. The humane arguments, however, which he derived from this consideration were unavailing to prevent the passing of a law,¹ which enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship in a legitimate parochial church, should be committed to prison ; that, if he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm ; and that, if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer death as a felon. If this act was not more fortunate than its predecessors in accomplishing the main object of checking the growth of puritan principles, it promoted at least the subordinate purpose of driving a

¹ 35 Eliz. cap. 1. Raleigh was not the only favourite of Elizabeth who was opposed to her ecclesiastical policy. One of the causes of her displeasure at Lord Essex was the countenance he gave to the puritans.

great many of the professors of ecclesiastical independency out of England. A numerous society of these fugitives was collected about the close of the sixteenth century, at Amsterdam, where they flourished in peace and piety for upwards of a hundred years. Others retired to various protestant states on the continent, whence with fond delusive hope, they expected to be recalled to their native land on the accession of Elizabeth's successor. The remainder continued in England to fluctuate between the evasion and the violation of the law; cherishing with their principles a stern impatience, generated by the galling restraints that impeded the free expression of them; and yet retained in submission by the hope which, in common with the exiles, they indulged of a mitigation of their sufferings on the demise of the queen.¹ Some historians have expressed surprise at the close concurrence of that general and impatient desire of a new reign which was manifested in the close of Elizabeth's life, with the strong and sudden disgust which the government of her successor experienced; and hence have taken occasion, with censorious but inapplicable wisdom, to deplore the ingratitude and fickleness of mankind. The seeming inconsistency, however, admits of an explanation more honourable to human nature, though less creditable to royal wisdom and virtue. Elizabeth had exhausted the patience and loyalty of a great portion of her subjects: and the adherence to her policy which her successor so unexpectedly manifested, disappointed all the hopes by which those virtues had been sustained.

The hopes of the puritans were derived from the education of the Scottish king, and supported by many of his declarations, which were eagerly cited and circulated in England. James had been bred a presbyterian: he had publicly declared that the church of Scotland was the best ecclesiastical constitution in the world, and that the English Liturgy resembled, to his apprehension, an ill-chanted mass. On his accession to the English crown, he was solicited by numerous petitions to interpose his authority for the protection and relief of the puritans; and at first he showed himself so far disposed to comply with their wishes as to appoint a solemn con-

¹ Strype's Life of Whitgift. D'Ewes. Neal.

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ference between their leaders and the heads of the church party at Hampton Court. But the hopes inspired by the proposition of this conference were disappointed by its result.¹ If James had ever sincerely preferred a presbyterian to an episcopal establishment, his opinion was entirely reversed by the opportunity he now enjoyed of comparing them with each other, and by the very different treatment he experienced from their respective ministers. In Scotland he had been engaged in perpetual contentions with the clergy, who did not recognise in his regal office any supremacy over their church, and who differed from him exceedingly in their estimate of his piety, capacity, and attainments. Precluded by his poverty from a display of royal pomp that might have dazzled their eyes and hid the weakness of the man behind the grandeur of the king, he stood plainly revealed to their keen glance, a clumsy personification of conceit and pedantry, obstinate but unsteady, filled with the rubbish and subtlety of scholastic learning, void of manly sense and useful knowledge. They have been accused of disturbing his government by exercising a censorial power over it; but it was himself that first taught, or at least encouraged, them thus to overstep their functions. Extending his administration into their peculiar province, where it had no right to penetrate, he seemed to sanction as well as provoke their censorial strictures on his intrusion. Mingling religious notions with his political views, he attempted to remodel the church; and the clergy, mingling political doctrines with their theological sentiments, complained of his interference, and censured the whole strain of his government. In an appeal to the public opinion and will, they easily triumphed over the unpopular pretensions of their feeble sovereign, and gained a victory which they used with little moderation, and which he resented no less as a theological than as a political affront. One of the ministers of the church of Scotland had so far transgressed the limits of decency and propriety as openly to declare that "all kings were the devil's children;"² and James retorted the discourtesy, when he found himself safe from their spleen and turbulence in England, by vehemently protesting that "a

¹ January, 1604.² Spottiswoode.

Scottish presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil.”¹ The sentiments that naturally resulted from offended arrogance and mortified presumption, were expanded to their amplest plenitude by the blaze of flattery and adulation with which the dignitaries of the English church received him. By them he was readily hailed the supreme head of their establishment, the protector of its privileges, the centre of its splendour, the fountain of its dignities; and Whitgift did not scruple to declare, in the conference at Hampton Court, that *undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God’s spirit*.² This was the last impulse that the deluded ecclesiastic was destined to impart to royal pride and folly. Confounded at the wide and spreading explosion of puritan sentiment, which he had flattered himself with the hope of having almost entirely extinguished, his grief and concern so violently affected his aged frame as to cause his death very shortly after.³ But he had already contributed to instil the ecclesiastical spirit of Elizabeth into the mind of her successor; and James, inflamed with admiration of a church which, like a faithful mirror (he thought) so justly reflected and illustrated his royal perfections, became henceforward the determined patron of the church of England, and the persecutor of all who opposed her institutions. His natural conceit, fortified by the testimony of the English prelates, soared to a height of surpassing arrogance and presumption; and he who in Scotland had found himself curbed in every attempt to interfere with the religious institutions of his own narrow realm, now reckoned himself qualified and entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical policy of foreign nations. Engaging in a dispute with Vorstius, professor of theology in a Dutch university, and finding his adversary insensible to the weight of his arguments, he resolved to make him feel at least the weight and the stretch of his power; and, roused, on this occasion, to a degree of energy and haughtiness to which no other foreign concernment was ever able to excite him, he remonstrated so vigorously with the states of Holland, that to put an end to his clamour, they stooped to the mean injustice of deposing and banishing the professor. With this

¹ Fuller.² Kennet.³ February, 1604.

BOOK
II.

sacrifice to his insulted logic, James was forced to be contented, though he had endeavoured to bespeak from his allies a more sanguinary vindication, by informing them "that as to the *burning* of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom; though surely never heretic better deserved the flames." He did not fail to reinforce this charitable counsel by his own example; and in the course of his reign burned at the stake two persons who were so unhappy as to entertain the Arian heresy,¹ and an unfortunate lunatic who mistook himself for the Deity, and whose frenzy was thus cruelly treated by a much more dangerous and deliberate invader of the divine attributes. If James had not been restrained by the growing political ascendancy of the puritans, there would probably have been more of such executions in England. He did, however, as much as he dared; and finding in Bancroft a fit successor to Whitgift, he made with his assistance so vigorous a commencement, that in the second year of his reign three hundred puritan ministers were deprived, imprisoned, or banished. To preclude the communication of light from abroad, the importation of any books hostile to the restraints imposed by the laws of the realm or the king's proclamations, was forbidden under the severest penalties: to prevent its rise and repress its spread at home, no books were suffered to be printed in England without the licence of a committee of bishops or their deputies; and arbitrary jurisdictions for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were multiplied and extended. Persons suspected of entertaining puritan sentiments, even though they adhered to the church, were subjected to fine and imprisonment for barely repeating to their families, in the evening, the substance of the discourses they had heard at church during the day, under the pretence that this constituted the crime of irregular preaching. Some of the puritans having conceived the design of withdrawing to Virginia, where they hoped that distance would at least mitigate the violence of oppression, a small number of them proceeded to carry their purpose into

¹ One of these victims is termed by Fuller, in his Church History, "Our English Vorstius." The king, in imitation of Henry the Eighth's generosity to Lambert, held a personal dispute with him, and concluded it by delivering him into the hands of the executioner.

effect; and a larger body were preparing to follow, when Bancroft, apprised of their intention, obtained a proclamation from the king, commanding that none of his subjects should settle in Virginia without an express licence under the great seal. Thus harassed and oppressed in England, and deprived of a refuge in Virginia, the puritans began to retire in considerable numbers to the protestant states of the continent of Europe; and the hopes of the still greater and increasing numbers who remained at home were fixed on the House of Commons. In this assembly the puritan ascendancy at length became so manifest, that in spite of the king's proclamations for encouraging mirthful games on Sunday, a bill was introduced for compelling a more strict and solemn observance of the day, to which it gave the denomination of the Sabbath; and when one member objected to this as a puritan appellation, and ventured to justify dancing by a jocose misapplication of some passages of scripture, he was, on the suggestion of Pym, expelled from the House for his profanity.¹ But we have now reached the period at which we forsake the main stream of the history of the puritans, to follow the fortunes of that illustrious branch which was destined to visit and ennoble the deserts of America. In reviewing the strange succession of events which we have beheld, and the various impressions they have produced on our minds, it may perhaps occur to some as a humiliating consideration, that the crimes and follies, the cruelties and weaknesses which would excite no other sentiments but those of horror, grief, or pity, in an angelic beholder, are capable of presenting themselves in such an aspect to less purified eyes, as to excite the splenetic mirth even of those whose nature is reproached or disgraced by the odious or absurd display.

In the year 1610, a congregation of Brownists, expelled by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native land, had removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson.² This excellent person may be justly regarded as

A congregation of Independents retire to Holland.

¹ K. James' Works, p. 355. Journals of the House of Commons, 15, 16. February, 1620. 28 May, 1621. Rymer. Neal. Stith's Virginia.

² Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his Account of the United Provinces, describes these exiles as *a body of English heretics called puritans, who had resorted to Holland for purposes of commerce.*

BOOK II.
1620. the founder of the sect of Independents,—having been the first teacher who steered a middle course between the path of Brownism and the Presbyterian system; to one or other of which the views and inclinations of the Puritans were now generally tending. The sentiments which he entertained when he first quitted his country, bore the impress of the persecution under which they had been formed; and when he commenced his ministry at Leyden he was a rigid Brownist: but after he had seen more of the world, and enjoyed opportunities of familiar converse with learned and good men of different ecclesiastical denominations, he began to entertain a more charitable opinion of those minor differences, which he plainly perceived might subsist, without injury to the essentials of religion, and without violating charity, or generating discord. Though he always maintained the legitimacy and expediency of separating from the established protestant churches in the country where he lived, he willingly allowed them the character of churches substantially christian; esteemed it lawful to unite with them in preaching and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline; and freely admitted their members to partake the sacrament with his own congregation. He considered that each particular church or society of christians possessed the power of electing its officers, administering the gospel ordinances, and exercising over its own members every necessary act of discipline and authority; and, consequently, that it was independent of all classes, synods, convocations, and councils. He admitted the expediency of synods and councils for composition of emergent differences between particular churches, by the communication of friendly advice to them; but denied their competence to exercise any act of jurisdiction, or authoritatively to impose any articles or canons of doctrine. These sentiments Robinson recommended to esteem, by exemplifying, in his life and demeanour, the best fruits of that divine spirit by whose tuition they were imparted; by a character and behaviour, in which the most eminent faculties and the highest attainments, were leavened and controlled by the predominating power of a solemn, affectionate piety.¹

¹ Mather's Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England. Neal. Robinson's Apology for the Brownists.

Enjoying the counsel and direction of such a pastor, and cherishing an adequate sense of his value, the English exiles composing this congregation remained for ten years at Leyden, in harmony with each other, and in peace with their neighbours. But, at the end of that period, the same pious views that had prompted their original departure from England incited them to undertake a more distant migration. They beheld with deep concern the prevalence around them of manners which they esteemed loose and profane; more particularly, the general neglect among the Dutch of a reverential observance of Sunday: and they reflected with apprehension on the danger to which their children were exposed from the natural contagion of habits so remote from serious piety. Their country, too, still retained a hold on their affections; and they were loth to behold their posterity commingled and identified with the Dutch population. The smallness of their numbers, and the difference of language, discouraged them from attempting to propagate in Holland the principles which, with so much suffering and hazard, they had hitherto maintained; and the conduct of the English government extinguished every hope of toleration in their native land. The famous *Arminian Controversy*, moreover, which was now raging in Holland with a fury that produced the barbarous execution of the Grand Pensionary Barneveldt, and the imprisonment of Grotius, probably contributed to alienate the desires of the English exiles from farther residence in a land where the Calvinistic tenets which they cherished were thus disgraced by cruelty and intolerance. In these circumstances it occurred to them that they might combine the indulgence of their patriotic attachment with the propagation of their religious principles, by establishing themselves in some distant quarter of the British dominions; and, after many days of earnest supplication for the counsel and direction of Heaven, they unanimously determined to transport themselves and their families to the territory of America. It was resolved that a part of the congregation should proceed thither before the rest, to prepare a settlement for the whole; and that the main body, meanwhile, should continue at Leyden with their pastor. In choosing the particular scene of their establishment, they hesitated, for some time, between the territory of

C H A P.
I.

1620.

They re-
solve to
settle in
America.

B O O K

II.

1620.

Negotia-
tion with
the king.

Guiana, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had published a most dazzling and attractive description, (mainly engendered by the pregnancy of his own imagination,) and the province of Virginia, to which they finally gave the preference: but Providence had ordained that their residence should be established in New England.

By the intervention of agents, whom they deputed to solicit the sanction of the English government to their enterprise, they represented to the king, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole: that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." The king, wavering between his desire to promote the colonization of America, and his reluctance to suffer the consciences of any portion of his subjects to be emancipated from his control, refused to grant them a charter assuring the full enjoyment of ecclesiastical liberty, but promised to connive at their practices, and to refrain from molesting them. They were forced to accept this precarious security, and would hardly have obtained it but for the friendly interposition of Sir Robert Nanton, one of the secretaries of state, and a favourer of the puritans: but they relied with more reason on their distance from the ecclesiastical tribunals of England, and from the eye and arm of their persecuting sovereign. Having procured from the Plymouth Company a grant of a tract of land, lying, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent, several of the congregation sold their estates, and expended the purchase money in the equipment of two vessels, in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for America.¹

All things being prepared for the departure of this detach-

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Hazard. Oldmixon. If the Puritans would have stooped to intrigue and duplicity, they might have had more powerful partizans at court than Sir Robert Nanton. The Duke of Buckingham, in imitation of Lord Essex's policy in the preceding reign, vainly attempted to obtain an ascendancy over the Puritans by caressing their leaders.

ment of the congregation from Delft haven, where they took leave of their friends, for the English port of embarkation, Robinson and his people devoted their last meeting in Europe to an act of solemn and social worship, intended to implore a blessing from Heaven upon the hazardous enterprise. He preached a sermon to them from Ezra viii. 21 :—*I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He concluded his discourse with the following exhortation, to which, with the fullest perception of its intrinsic merits, our sentiments will fail to do justice, unless we remember, that such a spirit of Christian candour and liberality as it breathes was then hardly known in the world. “Brethren,” said he, “we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

“If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

“This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it, ’tis an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written*

C H A P.
I.
1620.

B O O K *word of God.* Remember *that*, and every other article of your
 II. sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take
 1620. heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and
 compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it ;
 for 'tis not possible the christian world should come so lately
 out of antichristian darkness, and that perfection of know-
 ledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off
 the name of Brownist ; 'tis a mere nickname, and a brand for
 the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the
 christian world.” Having said thus much, he exchanged
 with them embraces and affectionate farewells ; and kneeling
 down with them all on the sea shore, commended them, in a
 fervent prayer, to the blessing and protection of Heaven.¹
 Such were the men whom the English monarch cast out of
 his dominions ; and such the scenes of wisdom and piety,
 which the control of Divine Providence elicited from the folly,
 arrogance, and bigotry, of a tyrant.

They arrive
 in Massa-
 chusetts—

9th Nov.

The emigrants were at first driven back by a storm which
 destroyed one of their vessels ; but finally re-embarking in the
 other at Plymouth, on the 6th of September, they succeeded
 after a long and dangerous voyage, in reaching the coast of
 America. Hudson's river was the place where they had pro-
 posed to disembark, and its banks the scene of their intended
 settlement : but the Dutch, who conceived that a preferable
 right to this territory accrued to them from its discovery by
 Captain Hudson, had maintained there, for some years, a
 small commercial establishment, and were actually projecting
 a scheme of more extensive occupation, which they were nei-
 ther disposed to forego, nor yet prepared to defend. In order
 to defeat the design of the English, they bribed the captain of
 the vessel in which the emigrants sailed, who was a Dutch-
 man, to carry his passengers so far towards the north, that
 the first land which they reached was Cape Cod, a region, not
 only beyond the precincts of their grant, but beyond the ter-
 ritories of the company from which the grant was derived.
 The advanced period of the year, and the sickliness occasioned
 by the hardships of a long voyage, compelled the adventurers

¹ Mather. Hazard.

to settle on the soil to which their destiny had thus conducted them, and which seemed to have been expressly prepared and evacuated for their reception by a pestilential disease, which, in the preceding year, had swept away nine-tenths of its savage and idolatrous population. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place afterwards included within the province of Massachusetts, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, in commemoration of the city with which their last recollections of England were associated. To supply, in some measure, the absence of a more formal title, they composed and subscribed an instrument declaratory of the purpose with which they had come to America, recognising the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a body politic, and their determination to enact all just and necessary laws, and to honour them by a due obedience.¹ Here, then, remote from the scenes and circumstances of human grandeur, these men embarked on a career of life, which, if the true dignity of human actions be derived from the motives that prompt them, the principles they express, and the ends they contemplate, must be allowed to claim no common measure of honour and elevation.

C H A P.
I.
1620.

And found
New Ply-
mouth.

The speedy approach and intense severity of their first winter in America painfully convinced the settlers that a more unfavourable season of the year could not have been selected for the plantation of their colony; and that the slender stores with which they were provided fell greatly short of what was requisite to comfortable subsistence, and formed a very inadequate preparation to meet the rigour of the climate. Their exertions to provide themselves with suitable dwellings were obstructed, for a time, by the hostile attacks of some of the neighbouring Indians, who had not forgotten the provocation they received from Captain Hunt; and the colonists had scarcely succeeded in repulsing them, when sickness, occasioned by scarcity of provisions and the increasing horrors of the season, afflicted them with a calamity, perhaps less dangerous to their virtue, but more fatal to their strength and

Hard-
ships—

¹ Mather. Neal. Oldmixon. Hutchinson. The fraud, by which the Dutch had contrived to divert these emigrants from Hudson's river, was discovered and stated in a memorial, which was published in England before the close of this year. Prince's New England Chronology.

BOOK II.
 and virtue of the colonists.
 1621.

security, than the perils of war. More than one-half of their number, including John Carver, their first governor, perished by hunger or disease before the return of spring; and, during the whole of the winter, only a few were capable of providing for themselves, or rendering assistance to the rest. But hope and virtue survived; and, rising in vigour beneath the pressure of accumulated suffering, surmounted and ennobled every circumstance of distress. Those who retained their strength became the servants of the weak, the afflicted, and the dying; and none distinguished himself more in this humane employment than Carver the governor. He was a man of large estate, but more enlarged benevolence; he had spent his whole fortune on the colonial project; and now, willingly contributing his life to its accomplishment, he exhausted a feeble body in laboriously discharging the humblest offices of kindness and service to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who, inheriting the merit and the popularity of his predecessor, was re-elected to the same office for many successive years,—notwithstanding his own earnest remonstrance that *if this office were an honour, it should be shared by his fellow citizens, and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed upon him*. When the distress of the colony was at its height, the approach of a powerful Indian chief with his followers seemed to portend the utter destruction of the colonists; but, happily, in the train of this personage, was the ancient guest and friend of the English, Squanto, who eagerly and successfully laboured to mediate a good understanding between them and his countrymen. He afterwards cancelled the merit of this useful service, and endeavoured to magnify his own importance by fabricating charges of plots and conspiracies against some of the neighbouring tribes, while at the same time he maintained an empire of terror over these tribes by secretly assuring them that the English were in possession of a cask filled with the plague, which only his influence prevented them from setting abroad for the destruction of the Indians. But, before he resorted to this mischievous policy, the colonists had become independent of his services. His friendship with the English was never entirely dissolved; and on his death-bed, soon after, he desired Governor Bradford to pray for him, *that he might go to the Englishman's God in*

heaven. Some of the neighbouring tribes, from time to time, made alarming demonstrations of hostility; but they were at length completely overawed by the courage and resolution of Captain Miles Standish, a gallant and skilful officer, who, with a handful of men, was always ready to encounter their strongest force, and anticipate their most rapid movements.¹

On the arrival of summer, the health of the colonists was restored; and their numbers continued to be recruited from time to time, by successive emigrations of oppressed puritans from Europe. But these additions fell far short of their expectations: and of the main reinforcement which they had looked for from the accession of the remainder of the congregation at Leyden, they were unhappily disappointed. The unexpected death of Robinson, their pastor, deprived his people of the only leader whose animating counsels could have overcome the timidity inspired by the accounts of the distresses sustained by their friends in New England; and, accordingly, upon that event, the greater part of those who had remained behind at Leyden now retired to join the other English exiles at Amsterdam, and very few had the courage to proceed to New Plymouth. This small colony, however, had displayed a hardy virtue that showed it was formed for endurance; and, having surmounted its first misfortunes, continued to prosper in the cultivation of piety, and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and political freedom. A generous attachment was formed to the soil which had been so worthily earned, and to the society whose continuance attested so manly a contest with and so signal a victory over every variety of ill. While the colonists demonstrated a proper respect for the claims of the original inhabitants of the country, by purchasing from them the territory over which their settlement extended, they neglected no preparation to defend by force what they had acquired with justice; and, alarmed by the tidings of the massacre of their countrymen in Virginia, they erected a timber fort, and adopted other prudent precautions for their security. This

¹ Mather. Neal. Oldmixon. Belknap's American Biography. Peter Martyr declares that the hardships endured by the Spaniards in South America were such as none but Spaniards could have supported. But the hardships sustained by the first colonists of New Plymouth appear to have exceeded them both in duration and intensity. See Hutchinson, ii. Append.

BOOK II.
 1621—4. purchase from savages, who rather occasionally traversed than permanently occupied the territory, is perhaps the first instance on record of the entire prevalence of the principles of justice in a treaty between a civilized and a barbarous people.

Their civil institutions— The constitution of the church which the emigrants established was the same with that which had prevailed among them at Leyden; and their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality of men to which their ecclesiastical policy, so long the main object of their concern, had habituated their minds. The supreme legislative body was composed at first of all the freemen who were members of the church; and it was not until the year 1639, that they established a house of representatives. The executive power was committed to a governor and council annually elected by the members of the legislative assembly. Their jurisprudence was founded on the laws of England, with some diversity, however, in the appreciation and punishment of crimes, wherein they approximated more nearly to the Mosaic institutions. Considering the protection of morals more important than the preservation of wealth, they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death,—while on forgery they inflicted only a moderate fine. The clearing and cultivation of the ground, fishing, and the curing of fish for exportation, formed the temporal occupations of the colonists. The peculiarity of their situation naturally led them, like the Virginians, for some time, to throw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, to carry on every work of industry by their joint labour for the public behoof. But the religious zeal which promoted this self-denying policy was unable to overcome the difficulties which must always attend it, and which are peculiarly aggravated in a society deriving its principle of increment not so much from internal growth as from the confluence of strangers. About three years after the foundation of New Plymouth, it was judged proper to introduce separation of possessions, though the full right of separate property was not admitted till a much later period: and even that change is represented as having produced a great and manifest improvement of the industry of the people.¹ The slow increase which, for a consi-

community of property.

¹ Mather. Neal. Chalmers.

derable period of time, the population of the colony exhibited, CHAP.
 has been ascribed to the prolonged operation of this system of 1.
 equality: but it seems more likely that the slowness of the 1621—4.
 increase (occasioned by the poverty of the soil and the report
 of the hardships attending a settlement in New England) was
 itself the reason why the complete ascertainment of the rights
 of separate property was so long retarded. In the first society
 of men collected by the bond of christianity, and additionally
 united by persecution, we find an attempt made to abolish in-
 dividual property; and, from the apostolic direction, that *he*
who would not work should not eat, we may conclude that the
 disadvantage which the operation of this principle is exposed
 to in a society mainly deriving its increase from the accession
 of strangers of dissimilar characters, was pretty early experi-
 enced. In Paraguay, the Jesuits formed a settlement where
 this peculiar disadvantage was not experienced, and which
 affords the only authenticated instance of the introduction and
 long endurance of a state of equality in a numerous society.
 But there, the great fundamental difficulty was rather evaded
 than encountered by a system of tuition adapted, with ex-
 quisite skill, to confound all diversities of talent and disposi-
 tion among the natives, in an unbounded and degrading
 dependence on their Jesuit instructors.

After having continued for some years without a patent for 1624.
 their territorial occupation, the colonists, whose numbers now
 amounted to a hundred and eighty, employed one Pierce as
 their agent in England, to solicit a grant of this nature from
 the English government, and the grand council of Plymouth—
 a new corporation by which James, in the year 1620, had
 superseded the original Plymouth company, and to which he
 had granted all the American territory lying within the
 fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of northern latitude. This
 corporate body continued to subsist for a considerable time,
 notwithstanding a vote of the House of Commons, in the year
 after its creation, declaring its privileges a grievance, and its
 patent void. Pierce procured a charter from the council, and
 caused it to be framed in his own name, with the appropri-
 ation of large territories and privileges to himself and his
 family: but, having embarked with a numerous body of asso-

B O O K. ciates, whom he had collected in England, and induced to
 II. accompany him, and assist in the prosecution of his ambitious
 1624—6. views, his vessel was shipwrecked, and Pierce himself so dismayed with the disastrous issue of his enterprise, that he made an open declaration of remorse, and resigned his unjust acquisition. The colonists, informed of their agent's treachery, despatched Winslow, one of their own number, to resume the solicitation for a charter. Winslow seems not to have been able to procure a patent from the crown, but he obtained, after a long delay, a grant of land and a charter of privileges from the council. It was directed¹ to William Bradford, the existing governor; and the immunities it conferred were appropriated to him, his heirs, associates, and assignees; but Bradford willingly surrendered all that was personal in the charter and grant, and associated the general court of the freemen to the privileges it conferred.² By this charter of the grand council of Plymouth, the colonists were authorised to choose a governor, council, and general court for the enactment and execution of laws instrumental to the public good. Some American historians have mistaken this charter for a patent from the crown. But no such patent was ever issued; and the social community of New Plymouth was never incorporated with legal formality into a body politic, but remained a subordinate and voluntary municipal association, until it was united to its more powerful neighbour the colony of Massachusetts. Both before and after the reception of their charter, the colonists were aware of the doubts that might be entertained of the validity of the acts of government which their magistrates exercised. This circumstance, perhaps, was not altogether unfavourable to the interests of the settlers, and may have contributed to the liberal principles and conciliatory strain by which the administration of their domestic government was honourably distinguished from that which afterwards unhappily prevailed among their neighbours in New England. But the soil around New Plymouth was so meagre, and the supplies they received from Europe so scanty and infrequent, that in the tenth year of their colonial exis-

¹ January, 1630.

² Hazard. Chalmers. Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

tence their numbers did not exceed three hundred.¹ Their exertions, nevertheless, were productive of consequences the most happy and interesting. They held up to the view of the oppressed puritans in the parent state, a retreat to which persecuted virtue might retire, and where only the enduring virtue which persecution had failed to conquer, seemed capable of obtaining a permanent establishment. At the expense of the noblest sacrifices and most undaunted efforts, this handful of men laid the foundation of civilized and Christian society in New England. A few years after their first establishment at New Plymouth, a messenger arrived at this settlement from the governor of the Dutch plantation on Hudson's river, with letters congratulating the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendering the good will and friendly services of the Dutch, and proposing a commercial intercourse between the two settlements. The governor and council of Plymouth returned a courteous answer, expressing their grateful remembrance of the hospitality which they had received in the native country of the Dutch, and a willing acceptance of the proffered friendship.² Nothing farther seems to have ensued from this overture than a series of small commercial dealings, and an occasional interchange of similar civilities, which, but a few years after, gave place to the most inveterate jealousy, and a continual reciprocation of complaint and menace between the Dutch and the English colonists.

Various attempts had latterly been made to emulate the successful establishment of New Plymouth; but they had all failed, in consequence of the neglect or inability of their promoters to emulate the virtues from which the success of this colonial enterprise was derived. In the year 1622, a rival colony was planted in New England by one Weston and a troop of disorderly adventurers, who, in spite of the friendly assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth, speedily sunk into a state of such misery and degradation, that several of them were reduced to become servants to the Indians; some perished by hunger; others betook themselves to robbery, and by their depredations involved both themselves and the colo-

¹ Neal. Chalmers. See Note IV. at the end of the volume.

² Collections of the Massachusetts' Historical Society. Neal.

B O O K
 II.
 1624—6

nists of New Plymouth in hostilities with the natives; and the rest were glad to find their way back to Europe. In the following year an attempt was made on a larger scale under the patronage of the grand council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor-general of New England, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a clergyman who accompanied him, the office of bishop and superintendent of all churches in this quarter of America. But the condition of New England was very ill fitted for the introduction of such institutions; and the governor and bishop, deserting their charge, made haste to return to a region more adapted to the cultivation of civil and ecclesiastical dignity. Of their followers, some retired to Virginia, and others returned to England.¹ At a later period a similar undertaking, conducted by Captain Wollaston, was attended with a repetition of the same disastrous issue. The followers of Wollaston first taught the savage inhabitants of this quarter of America the use of fire-arms—a lesson which ere long the colonists of New England had abundant reason to deplore.² All these unsuccessful plantations were attempted on land more fertile, and in situations more commodious, than the settlers at New Plymouth enjoyed. The scene of their brief and unprosperous existence was the coast of Massachusetts Bay, where, a few years later, a colony, which was formed after the model and principles of New Plymouth, and whose origin now

¹ The most important act of Captain Gorges' administration that has been transmitted to us, is one which affords an explanation of a passage in *Hudibras*, where the New Englanders are accused of hanging an innocent, but bed-ridden, weaver, instead of a guilty, but useful, cobbler.—

“ That sinners may supply the place
 Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
 Our brethren of New England use
 Choice malefactors to excuse,
 And hang the guiltless in their stead,
 Of whom the churches have less need—
 As lately happened. In a town
 There lived a cobbler,” &c. *Hudibras*.

Some of Gorges' people had committed depredations on the Indians, who insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. Gorges satisfied and deceived them by hanging up either a dying man or a dead body. Hutchinson. Butler's witty malice, studious to defame the puritans, has rescued from oblivion an act of which the whole merit or demerit is exclusively due to his own party. Morrell, the clergyman, who had accompanied Gorges, notwithstanding his disappointment, conceived a very favourable opinion of New England, which he expressed in an elegant Latin poem descriptive of the country.—*Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*

² Neal. *Oldmixon*. (2nd edit.)

claims our attention, afforded the second example of a successful establishment in New England. C H A P.
I.

The reign of Charles the First was destined to produce the consummation and the retribution of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Charles committed the government of the church to men who openly professed the most arbitrary principles, and whose inclinations directed them much more strongly to promote an approximation to the rites and practices of the church of Rome, than to mediate an agreement among the professors of the protestant faith. Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, being restrained by the liberality of his principles and the mildness of his temper from lending his instrumentality to the views of the court, was treated with harshness, and, at length, suspended from his office, of which the functions were committed to a board of prelates, of whom the most eminent was Laud, who afterwards succeeded to the primacy. From this period, both in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the realm, a system of deliberate and insolent invasion of every right most valued by freemen, and most revered by protestants, was pursued with a stubborn pride, folly, and cruelty, that at length exhausted the patience of the English people. To the historian of England the political abuses that distinguished this period will probably appear the most interesting features in its history: and, doubtless, they contributed at least as powerfully as any other cause to the production of the ensuing scene of civil warfare and convulsion. But, as it was the ecclesiastical administration that mainly conduced to the peopling of America, it is this branch of the English history that chiefly merits our attention, in investigating the sources of the colonization of New England.

Not only were the ancient ceremonial observances which long oppression had rendered so obnoxious, exacted with additional rigour from the increasing numbers of the puritans, but new and more offensive rites were added to the ecclesiastical canons. A design seems to have been formed of enabling the church of England to vie with the Romish see in splendid pageantry, elaborate ceremonial, and temporal power. Laud, indeed, boasted that he had refused the offer of a cardinal's hat from Rome; but the offer was justly considered a more sig-

1626.

Increase of
civil and
ecclesiasti-
cal tyranny
in England.

1627.

B O O K
II.
1627.

nificant circumstance than the refusal : and, having already assumed to himself the papal title of *His Holiness*, which he substituted in place of *His Grace*, his titular style would have been lowered instead of elevated by the Romish promotion which he rejected. The communion table was converted into an altar, and all persons were commanded to bow to it on entering the church. All the week-day lectures, and all afternoon sermons on Sunday, were abolished ; and, instead of them, games and sports were permitted to all the people, “ *excepting known recusants*,” who were thus, with matchless absurdity, penally debarred from practices which they regarded with the utmost detestation. Every minister was commanded to read from the pulpit the royal proclamation recommendatory of games and sports on Sunday, under the pain of deprivation. This ordinance, like all the other novelties, was productive of the greater dissatisfaction, from the extent to which puritan sentiments had penetrated into the church, and the number of puritan ministers within the establishment whom habit had taught to fluctuate between the observance and the evasion of the ancient obnoxious canons, and trained to submit, without at all reconciling to the burden. Nothing could be more ill timed than an aggravation of the load under which these men were labouring : it reduced many to despair, inflamed others with vindictive resentment, and deprived the church of a numerous body of her most zealous and most popular ministers. Nor were these the only measures that were calculated to excite discontents within as well as without the establishment. Three-fourths of the English clergy were Calvinists ; but Laud and the ruling prelates, who were Arminians, caused a royal proclamation to be issued against the preaching of the Calvinistic tenets : and while the Arminian pulpits resounded with the sharpest invectives against these tenets, a single sentence that could be construed into their defence exposed the preacher to the pains of contempt of the king’s authority.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the churchmen had been eager to shift from themselves upon the courts of common law as great a portion as they could of the odium of administering the ecclesiastical statutes. But Laud and his associates, inaccessible to fear, remorse, or shame, courted a monopoly of

the function and repute of persecution; and in the court of high commission exercised such arbitrary power, and committed such enormous cruelty, as procured to that odious tribunal the name of *the protestant inquisition*. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, the pillory, were the most lenient of the punishments inflicted by this tribunal. Its victims were frequently condemned to have their flesh torn from their bodies by the lash of the executioner, their nostrils slit, and their ears cut off; and in this condition were exhibited to the people as monuments of what was termed the righteous justice of their sovereign and the holy zeal of the prelates. Of the extent to which this tyrannical policy was carried, some notion may be formed from the accounts that have been transmitted to us of the proceedings within the diocese of Norwich alone. In the articles of impeachment subsequently exhibited against Bishop Wren, it is alleged, that during his possession of that diocese, which lasted only for two years and a half, fifty ministers were expelled from their pulpits for not complying with the prescribed innovations, and three thousand of the laity were compelled to abandon the kingdom.¹ Consonant with the ecclesiastical, was the civil policy of Charles's government. Parliamentary taxation was superseded by royal imposts: the tenure of judicial office was altered from the good behaviour of the judges to the arbitrary pleasure of the king; every organ of liberty was suspended or perverted; and the kingdom at length subjected to the exclusive dominion of a stern and uncontrolled prerogative. Insult was employed, as if purposely to stimulate the sensibility which injuries might not have sufficiently awakened. A clergyman having alleged in a sermon which he preached before the king that his majesty's simple requisition of money from his subjects, obliged them to comply with it "under pain of eternal damnation," Charles at first coldly remarked that he owed the man no thanks for giving him his due: but a censure of the House of Commons having followed the discourse, the preacher was forthwith accounted a proper object of royal favour, and promoted, first to a valuable living, and afterwards to a bishoprick.² A system of such diffusive and

¹ Neal.

² Sanderson's Life of Charles the First. Rushworth's Hist. Collect.

B O O K exasperating hostility employed by the government against
 II. the people, needed only sufficient duration to provoke from
 1627. universal rage a vindictive retribution, the more to be dreaded from the patience with which the heavy arrear of injury had been endured and permitted to accumulate. But before this tyrannical system had time to mature the growing discontents, and to produce extremities so perilous to the moderation and humanity of all who were to be involved in them, it was destined to inspire efforts of nobler energy and purer virtue: much good was to be educed from a scene of evil and disorder; and great and happy consequences were yet to be elicited by the steady and beneficent dominion of Providence over the malevolent and irregular passions of men.

Project of
 a new colony in
 Massachusetts.

The severities exercised on the puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of their fondly cherished hopes of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigour, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment, and attained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign, a few non-conformist families removed to New England and took possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of a sufficient number of associates to secure the formation of a permanent settlement, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, had projected a new settlement on the shore of Massachusetts Bay; and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming an association of a number of the gentry in his neighbourhood who had imbibed the puritan opinions, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and sentiments that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*. The authors of this remarkable proclamation began by adverting to the progress of the Jesuit establishments in South America; and expatiated on the duty and advantage of counteracting the influence of these institutions by the introduction of a purer edition of the gospel into

that quarter of the world. They observed that all the other churches of Europe had been brought under desolation ; that the same fate seemed to impend over the church of England ; and that it might reasonably be supposed that the Deity had provided the unoccupied territory of America as a land of refuge for those of his people yet inhabiting the scene of approaching convulsion, whom he purposed to snatch from its dangerous vortex. England, they remarked, grew weary of her inhabitants ; insomuch that man, the most precious of all creatures, was there reckoned more vile and base than the earth he trod on ; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance, instead of being cherished as the choicest of earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly among their countrymen, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and dishonest practices : and the English seminaries of learning abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge and virtue were imparted by precept. " The whole earth," they declared, " is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them : Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and, in the mean time, suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement ?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth, and strongly urged the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted. Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their measures were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small troop of planters and servants were despatched under John Endicot, one of the leading projectors ; who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth,

B O O K and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated
II. Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies Peace.¹

1628
Salem
built.

4th March.
Charter of
Massachu-
setts Bay
obtained
from
Charles the
First, by
an associa-
tion of pu-
ritans.

But the ardour and enthusiasm of these adventurers could not disguise the obvious and important consideration of their inability to maintain effectual possession of the extensive territory that had been ceded to them, without the aid of more opulent coadjutors; of whom, chiefly by the influence and activity of White, they were enabled to procure a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favoured, the tenets of the puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent precaution, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design; and, justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer municipal jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter. The readiness with which this application was granted, and the liberal tenor of the charter which was obtained, are perfectly unaccountable, except on the supposition that the king and his ecclesiastical counsellors were willing, at this season, to disencumber the church, in which they were preparing to introduce the innovations to which we have already adverted, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected: a politic design which appears sufficiently credible; although, at a subsequent period, Charles and his ministers endeavoured to counteract it, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts that, at the very time when this monarch was sanctioning the exercise of despotic authority in Virginia, he extended to a colony of puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians were divested; and

¹ Mather. Neal. An earlier writer than these has described Endicot as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work: of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving, or austere, as occasion served."—Johnson's Wonder-working Providence in New England. (London, 1654.)

that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting the system of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship. Nay, so completely, in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the demands of the projectors of a puritan settlement, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer the affairs of a remote colony; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile portion of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony which was to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic; and, their right to the territory which they had purchased from the council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the soil, and to govern the people who should settle upon it. Among other patentees specially named in this charter, were Sir Henry Rosewell, one of the earliest promoters of the design; Sir Richard Saltonstall, the descendant of an ancient family in Northamptonshire; Isaac Johnson, son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln; John Ven, a distinguished citizen of London, and commemorated by Clarendon, as *leading the city after him in seditious remonstrances*; and Samuel Vassal,¹ who was afterwards member of Parliament for London, and had already signalized himself by a strenuous opposition to the arbitrary collection of tonnage and poundage. The first governor of the company and his council were named by the king: the right of electing their successors was vested in the freemen of the corpo-

CHAP.
I.
1629.

¹ From the monument erected to the memory of this man by his great-grandson at Boston, it appears that he was the son of the gallant John Vassal, who, in 1588, at his own expense, equipped and commanded two ships of war against the Spanish Armada. The son exerting himself as strenuously against domestic tyranny as the father had done against foreign invasion, was deprived of his liberty and of the greater part of his fortune by the Court of Star Chamber. The Long Parliament voted him upwards of 10,000*l.* as a compensation for his losses, and resolved that his personal sufferings should be further considered—"but the rage of the times," says his epitaph, "and the neglect of proper application since, have left to his family only the honour of that vote and resolution." Dodsley's Annual Register, 1766.

BOOK II.
1629. ration. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants: the legislative, to the body of free-men, who were empowered to enact statutes and ordinances for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. The adventurers obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from duties on goods exported or imported; and, it was declared that, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants should be entitled to all the rights of home-born subjects of England.¹

The meaning of this charter, with respect to the ecclesiastical rights of the colonists of Massachusetts, has been made the subject of much controversial discussion. By the puritans, and the puritan writers of that age, it was sincerely believed, and confidently maintained, that the intendment of the charter was to bestow on the colonists unrestricted liberty to regulate their ecclesiastical constitution by the dictates of their own judgments and consciences.² The granters were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to conceal, that their object was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that which was already created and supported without objection at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers; and when this emphatic silence on a point which could not but be intimately present to the thoughts of both parties, is coupled with the ready departure evinced by the king on the same occasion, from all the arbitrary principles which he was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and colonial administration, it seems to follow by inevitable inference that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a temporary sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of those puritan petitioners; and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the puritans

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson's Collection of Massachusetts Papers. Hazard. Oldmixon. (2nd edit.)

² Mather. Neal. Neal's History of the Puritans.

has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of English law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases where the import of a compact is doubtful, the bias of presumptive construction ought to incline against the pretensions of that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, those writers have insisted that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical state of the colony, implied the imposition on the colonists of every particular ordinance and institution of the church of England. The most eminent writer of this party has taken occasion from hence to reproach the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with having laid the foundations of their church establishment in fraud. "*Without regard*," says this distinguished author, "*to the sentiments of that monarch*, under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of independent." He accounts for the silence of the charter on a point which was unquestionably uppermost in the minds of both parties, by remarking, that "the king seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure;" and he explains the conduct of the colonists, by pronouncing that they were "animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy as well as in religion."¹ But surely no impartial inquirer will ever esteem it a reproach to the puritans, driven by persecution from their native land, that they did not cross the Atlantic and settle in a desert for the purpose of cultivating a more perfect conformity with the principles and policy of their oppressor. The provision in their charter, that the laws to be enacted by them should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England, could never be understood to enjoin any thing farther than a general conformity to the

CHAP.
I.
1629.

¹ Robertson's History of America, B. x.

B O O K
II.

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common law of England, suitable to the acknowledged dependence of the colony on the main trunk of the British dominions. The unsuspecting ignorance, too, that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears quite incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of an independent church, was fresh in their recollection ; that it was avowed and notorious puritans who now applied for permission to repair to the land where that constitution was established ; and, above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they confessed that they could not conscientiously conform.¹ Whether the king and Laud were, or were not, aware of the intentions of the puritans, they must surely be regarded as the best judges of the extent of concession which they themselves had intended to convey ; and by their acquiescence in the constitution which the planters of Massachusetts Bay forthwith established, they ratified a practical interpretation of the charter in conformity with the views of the puritans, and confessed that this proceeding imported no violation either of general law or particular paction. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which their own measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries ; but yet tacitly acknowledged that the intolerant system which they pursued in England was excluded by positive agreement from the colonial territory.

1st May.

Embarka-
tion of the
emi-
grants—

Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony had been rendered complete by the royal charter, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous puritans, accompanied by some eminent non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire,—the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea,—and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the bar-

¹ Mather.

barous land where so many preceding emigrants had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, supported by the worth and dignity of the design which they had combined to accomplish. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous purpose; and they experienced none of those jealousies which inevitably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among men unequally qualified to promote the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers: ¹ but it had long ceased to wear a benign or paternal countenance towards themselves; and, in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which christians and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fire of religion and liberty, which regal and pontifical tyranny was striving to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried its embers. They confidently believed that the religious and political tenets which had languished under a protracted persecution in Europe would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of these doctrines might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to derive continual accessions to the vigour of their own principles from the fresh arrival of succeeding emigrants, willing, like them, to transplant their uprooted patriotic affection to a soil where it might flourish in alliance with the cultivation and enjoyment of truth and liberty. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with unwonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had prac-

¹ Francis Higginson, one of the most able, devout, and popular ministers in England, was a passenger in this fleet. When he perceived that he was taking his last look of the English coast, he summoned his children and the other passengers to the deck of the vessel, and said to them, "We will not say, as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' But we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the church of God in England, and all christian friends there! We separate not from the church of England, but from its corruptions. We go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America."

BOOK II. 1629. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the happiness of re-uniting themselves to their friends already established at Salem, under John Endicot, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony.¹

Arrival at
Salem.
June 24.

Their ecclesiastical
institutions.

August 6.

To the community of men thus assembled, the formation of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and earnest deliberation. They had been advised to discuss and settle before their departure from England, the form of church government which was to be established in the colony ; but, neglecting this advice, they had proceeded no farther than to express their general assent to the principle that *the reformation of the church was to be attempted according to the written word of God*. They now applied to their brethren at New Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which had there been adopted ; and, having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of that Being who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him in an acceptable manner, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and enacted a perfect copy of her structure in the composition of their own. They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and practise an entire conformity to his will, so far as he should be pleased to reveal it to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse ; to repress jealousies, suspicions, and secret emotions of spleen ; and, in all cases of offence, to suffer, forbear, and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern. They promised, in the congregation, to restrain the indulgence of a vain-glorious forwardness to display their gifts ; and, in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from every appearance of evil. They engaged, by a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth,

¹ Mather. Neal. Eliot's New England Biography.

to encourage them to a faithful discharge of their functions : CHAP.
 and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves, in I.
 their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God ; 1629.
 shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The system of ecclesiastical policy and discipline which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the independents, and which we have already had occasion to consider. The form of public worship which they instituted, rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they consecrated to their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were on that occasion admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith digested by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as christians ; and it was declared that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had satisfied the elders with respect to the soundness of his faith and the purity of his conduct.¹

The constitution of which we have now beheld an abstract, and especially the covenant or social engagement so fraught with sentiments of exalted piety and genuine benevolence, has excited the derision of some writers, who refuse to regard the speculative liberality which it indicates in any other point of view than as contrasted with the practical intolerance which the framers of it soon after displayed. But however agreeable this aspect may be to eyes that watch for the follies and frailties of the wise and good, it is not the only light in which the transaction we have now considered will present itself to humane and liberal minds. Philosophy admits that the soul is enlarged by the mere purpose of excellence ; and religion has pronounced that even those designs which men are not able or worthy to accomplish, may beneficially affect the minds that have sincerely entertained them. The error of the inhabitants of Salem was the universal error of their age : the virtues they demonstrated were peculiar to them-

¹ Mather. Neal.

BOOK
II.

1629.

selves and their puritan brethren. In the ecclesiastical constitution which they established, and the sentiments and purposes which they declaratively interwove with it, they rendered a sincere and laudable homage to the rights of conscience and the requirements of piety; and these principles, no doubt, exercised a beneficial influence on the practice which, unhappily, they did not entirely control. The influence of principles that tend to the restraint of human ferocity and intolerance is frequently invisible to mortal eyes, because it is productive chiefly of negative consequences: and when great provocation or alarm has prompted the professors of those principles to violate the restraints enjoined by them, they will be judged with little candour, if charity neglect to supply the imperfection of that knowledge to which we are limited by the narrow and partial range of our view, and to suggest the secret and difficult forbearance which may have preceded the visible action which we condemn or deplore. In the very first instance of intolerant proceeding with which the adversaries of the puritans have reproached this American community, the influence of genuine piety in mitigating human impatience was strikingly apparent. It is a notable fact that, although these emigrants were collected from a body of men embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rites of worship as then prevailed among the puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they had incurred banishment from their native country, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of Browne, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this constitution, and arguing with great absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become anabaptists, endeavoured to procure converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument was supplied by the vehemence of their

Two persons
banished
from the
colony for
schism.

clamour; and they obtained a favourable audience from a few persons who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the provincial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the rules of morality. Endicot, the governor, called those men, together with the ministers, before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system that had been established: and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to excite a mutiny against the government, they were declared unfit to remain in the colony, and compelled to re-embark and depart in the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England.¹ Their departure restored harmony to the colonists, who were endeavouring to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter, and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one-half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

Notwithstanding the censure with which some writers have commented on the banishment of the two individuals whose case we have considered, the justice of the proceeding must surely commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men: nor would it have been necessary to advert to the charge of intolerance to which the colonists have been exposed, if their conduct had never given juster occasion to it. But, unfortunately, a great proportion of the puritans at this period were deeply infected with the prevalent error of their age,² and regarded the peaceable co-existence of different sects in the same community as nearly impossible—a notion strongly

Intolerance of some of the puritans.

¹ Mather. Neal. On their return to England they preferred a complaint against the colonists of oppressive demeanour to themselves and enmity to the church of England. The total disregard which their complaint experienced (Chalmers) strongly confirms the opinion I have expressed of the understanding of all parties with regard to the real import of the charter.

² The richest endowment of reason could not exempt the most distinguished of modern philosophers from intolerance; nor could the experience of persecution always demonstrate its injustice even to its own victims. Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be granted to sectaries. Bacon, *De unitate ecclesiæ*. During the administration of Cromwell, a presbyterian minister,

B O O K confirmed, if not originally suggested to them by the treat-
 II. ment which they continually received from their adversaries.

1629. If it was reasonably incumbent on men who had themselves been the victims of persecution, to abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown them to be hateful and odious, it was natural that these men, flying to deserts for the sake of particular practices and opinions, should expect to see the objects of their painful sacrifice flourish unmolested and undisputed in the scene of their retirement. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries, they considered as the legitimate consequence of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed; and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons as well as persecutors of their tenets. The activity of government in support of a system of religious doctrines, they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the propriety of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter. Some of them, no doubt, had already anticipated the sentiments by which at a later period the independents were generally characterized, and which induced them to reject all connexion between church and state, and disallow the competence of interposing magisterial authority to sustain one church or to suppress or discourage another. But very opposite sentiments prevailed among the bulk of the colonists of Massachusetts, who came to America fresh from the influence of persecution, and had not, like their brethren at New Plymouth, the advantage of an intermediate residence

who had himself felt the hand of persecution, published a treatise against what he was pleased to term "*this cursed intolerable toleration.*" Orme's Life of Owen.

To the objection that persecution tends to make men hypocrites, an eminent minister in New England answered, "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than briars and thorns." Another, in a work published in 1645, thus expresses himself: "It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance." —Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

in a land where (to a certain extent at least¹) a peaceful co-
 existence of different sects was demonstrated to be not merely
 practicable, but signally promotive of the most excellent
 graces of christian character. Much might be urged and
 will doubtless suggest itself to every liberal mind, in extenua-
 tion of their error, of which the bitter leaven continued long
 to disturb their peace and felicity. But indulgence must not
 be confounded with praise: and the considerations which may
 be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit
 which these people displayed, can never entitle this spirit to
 be regarded as a virtue. It was sharpened by the copious
 infusions which the colony received of the feelings excited
 in England by the increased severity of persecution, from
 which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to
 America.

The British empire in America underwent, about this
 period, some vicissitudes, which in after years affected mate-
 rially the prosperity both of New England and of the other
 colonial establishments in the same quarter of the world. The
 war which the king so wantonly declared against France in
 1627, and which produced only disgrace and disaster to the
 British arms in Europe, was attended with events of a very
 different complexion in America. Sir David Kirk having ob-
 tained a commission to attack the American dominions of
 France, invaded Canada in the summer of 1628; and so suc-
 cessful was the enterprise, that in July, 1629, Quebec was
 reduced to surrender to the arms of England. Thus was the
 capital of New France subdued by the English, about one
 hundred and thirty years before they achieved its final con-
 quest by the sword of Wolfe. But the important tidings had
 not been received in Europe when peace was re-established
 between France and England; and Charles, by the subse-
 quent treaty of St. Germain, not only restored this valuable
 acquisition to France, but expressed the cession in terms of
 such extensive application, as undeniably inferred a recogni-
 tion of the French, and a surrender of the British claims to

¹ It was not till the year 1619 (the year preceding the departure of the Plymouth settlers from Leyden) that the sanguinary persecution of the Anabaptists, to which I have already alluded, occurred in Holland.

B O O K the province of Nova Scotia.¹ This arrangement portended
11. vexation and injury to the settlements of the English : and the
1629. sequel of our narrative will demonstrate how fully the evil portent was accomplished.

¹ Champlain's Voyage. Oldmixon. Chalmers. "It is remarkable," says Professor Kalm, "that the French were doubtful whether they should reclaim Canada from the English, or leave it to them. Many were of opinion that it was better to keep the people in France, and employ them in all sorts of manufactures, which would oblige the other European powers who had colonies in America to bring their raw goods to French ports, and take French manufactures in return." But the prevalent opinion was, that the reclamation and retention of Canada would promote the naval power of France, and was necessary to counterbalance the rising colonial empire of England.—Kalm's Travels in North America.

CHAPTER II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachusetts.—Numerous Emigration.—Foundation of Boston.—Hardships of the new Settlers.—Disfranchisement of Dissenters in the Colony.—Influence of the provincial Clergy.—John Cotton and his Colleagues and Successors.—Williams' Schism—he founds Providence.—Representative Assembly established in Massachusetts.—Arrival of Hugh Peters—and Henry Vane, who is elected Governor.—Foundation of Connecticut—and Newhaven.—War with the Pequod Indians.—Severities exercised by the victorious Colonists.—Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson. Colonization of Rhode Island—and of New Hampshire and Maine.—Jealousy, and fluctuating Conduct of the King.—Measures adopted against the Liberties of Massachusetts—interrupted by the Civil Wars.—State of New England—Population—Laws—Manners.

THE directors of the Massachusetts or New England company in Britain, meanwhile exerted the utmost diligence to reinforce the colony they had founded with a numerous body of additional settlers. Their designs were promoted by the rigour and intolerance of Laud's administration, which progressively multiplying the hardships imposed on all Englishmen who scrupled entire conformity to the ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a removal to America. Many people began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England; and several of those new adventurers were persons of distinguished family and opulent estate. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative functions in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the chartered rights and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The directors of the company who had incurred a considerable expense, with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were very willing to secure the settlement of so many wealthy and respectable colonists in their territory, even at the expense of the surrender that was demanded from them: but doubting its legality,

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The charter government transferred from England to Massachusetts.

they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, they received an opinion favourable to the wishes of the emigrants; and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England." To the existing members of the corporation who should still remain in Britain, was reserved a share in the trade, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years.¹ By this transaction,—one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, were the municipal rights and liberties of the inhabitants of New England established on a firm and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was accomplished, we find ourselves beset with doubts and difficulties, of which the only rational solution that presents itself is the supposition we have already adopted, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on some other part of his dominions, and employ their energies in subduing the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church and civil constitution of England, they should have permission to arrange the structure, civil and ecclesiastical, of their provincial commonwealth, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rulers, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to mark, than prompt to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at the present period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the puritans to New England, that about two years after this signal change had been carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal measures was preferred against the colony by a Roman catholic who had

¹ Mather. Hutchinson.

been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges,—the king, after an ample discussion of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the provincial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he “had no good opinion of that plantation,” and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their farther comfort and prosperity.¹ From the terms of this document (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the puritans), and from the whole complexion of the king’s conduct towards the founders of this settlement, it would appear that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at the present time was to persuade the leaders of the puritans, that if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their principles in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers,² whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all the existing materials of information,—whom it would justly be held presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment,—and whom it may, perhaps, appear uncharitable to reproach with malignity towards the puritans,—have not scrupled to accuse the founders of this colony of pursuing their purposes by a policy not less impudent than fraudulent, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he showed himself willing to grace their departure from Britain, were so fully aware of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present demeanour with his favourite policy, that they openly declared they had been conducted by Providence to a land of rest, through ways which they were contented to admire without comprehending; and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else than the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of his people, and holds

¹ Neal.² Chalmers. Robertson.

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 1629. the hearts of kings, as of all men, in his hands. It is indeed a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was oppressing the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the puritans in New England.

Having achieved this important innovation in the structure of their political system, the adventurers proceeded with equal prudence and vigour to execute the ulterior designs which they had undertaken. By a general court or assembly, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor; eighteen councillors or assistants were also chosen; and in these functionaries, together with the body of freemen who might settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. So active was the spirit of emigration, that, in the course of the ensuing year, above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who expressed their determination to follow truth and liberty into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of superstition and slavery, set sail aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. On their arrival at Salem, many of them were so displeased with its local circumstances, that they explored the country in quest of more agreeable stations; and settling in different places around the adjacent bay, according to their particular predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies, which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these settlements, a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This concernment, together with the care of providing for their subsistence during winter, afforded ample occupation to the emigrants for several months after their arrival. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses through the ordeal of which every body of European settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contributions of the other settlements in the province could but slightly alleviate,—attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions formed in Europe,—and lodged for the most part in

1630.
 Numerous
 emigra-
 tion.

July 6.

Founda-
 tion of
 Boston.

Hardships
 of the new
 settlers.

booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather,—great numbers of the new colonists were speedily carried to the grave. But the noble determination of spirit which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force: the survivors endured their calamities with unshaken fortitude; and the dying expressed a grateful exultation in the consciousness of having promoted and beheld the foundation of a church of Christ in those desolate ends of the earth. The continuance of the pestilence enforced the devout supplications of the colonists; and its cessation, which they recognised as the answer to their prayers, excited their devotional gratitude. This calamity was hardly removed when they were alarmed by the tidings of a universal conspiracy of the neighbouring Indians for their destruction. The colonists, instead of relying on their patent from the British crown, had, on their first arrival, fairly purchased from the Indians all the tracts of land which they proposed to occupy; and in the hour of their peril, both they and the faithless vendors who menaced them, reaped the fruit of their concurrence or collision with the designs of Eternal Justice. The hostility of the savages was interrupted by a pestilential disorder that broke out among themselves, and with rapid desolation swept whole tribes of them away. This disorder was the small-pox, which has always proved a much more formidable malady to Indian than to European constitutions. In spite of the most charitable exertions on the part of the colonists to arrest the progress of the distemper by their superior medical skill, nine-tenths of the neighbouring Indians were cut off; and many of the survivors, flying from the infection, removed their habitations to more distant regions.¹

When the departure of winter and the arrival of supplies from England, permitted the colonists to resume their assem-

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1630.

1631.

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. "The first planters, far from using the barbarous methods practised by the Spaniards on the southern continent, which have made them detestable to the whole christian world, sought to gain the natives by strict justice in their dealings with them, as well as by all the endearments of kindness and humanity. To lay an early foundation for a firm and lasting friendship, they assured the Americans that they did not come among them as invaders but purchasers, and therefore called an assembly of them together to inquire who had the right to dispose of their lands; and being told it was their sachems or princes, they thereupon agreed with them for what districts they bought, publicly, and in open market.—Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters.

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1631.

Disfranchisement
of Dissenters in the
colony.

Influence
of the provincial
clergy.

blies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were strongly leavened with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined that their commonwealth should exemplify a thorough intertexture and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was passed, enacting that no persons should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received members of one or other of the congregations of the established church of the province. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the fundamental points of christian doctrine, but with respect to ecclesiastical discipline and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading members of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances and menaces of Charles the Second, to make some alteration of this law, they altered it more in appearance than in reality, and still required that every candidate for the rank of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that he was a person of orthodox principles and of honest life and conversation—a certificate which dissenters from the established church solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority;¹ and, happily, the colony was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose disinterested virtue and superior sense served not merely to counteract the

¹ Many instances of their influence in matters of importance will occur in the further progress of our narrative. An instance of their control over public opinion on a point which, being quite beyond the province of reason, was the more likely to interest the most obstinate and unassailable prejudices, is mentioned by Hutchinson. Tobacco was at first prohibited under a penalty; and in some writings that were popular in the colony, the smoke of it was compared to the fumes of the bottomless pit. But some of the clergy having fallen into the practice of smoking, tobacco was instantly, by an act of government, “set at liberty.”

mischief of this inordinate influence, but even to convert it into an instrument of good. Though dissenters from the provincial church were thus deprived of political privileges, it does not appear that they were exposed to any positive molestation, except where their tenets were considered as blasphemous, or when they endeavoured by the propagation of them to detach other persons from the established system, or to disturb the public peace. The exclusion from political franchises to which they were subjected, seems not at first to have given them any annoyance, but to have been recognised as a necessary consequence of that system of policy in conformity with which the preservation of the church estate was accounted the great end of political institutions; and the chief value of political rights was supposed to consist in their subservience to that object. Various persons resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises; and one episcopal minister in particular, excited more mirth than displeasure, when, signifying his refusal to join any of the provincial congregations, he declared that *as he had left England because he did not like the lord bishops, so they might rest assured that he had not come to America to live under the lord brethren.*¹

The diminution of their original numbers, which the colonists had suffered from hardship and disease, was much more than compensated by the ample reinforcements which they continually received from their persecuted brethren in England. Among the new settlers who arrived not long after the transference of the seat of government to Massachusetts, were some eminent puritan ministers, of whom the most remarkable were Elliott and Mayhew, the first protestant missionaries to the Indians, and John Cotton, a man whose singular worth procured, and long preserved, to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony. After ministering for twenty years in England to a congregation by whom he was highly respected and beloved, Cotton had been summoned before the Court of High Commission on a charge of neglecting to kneel at the sacrament. Lord Dorset and other persons of distinction, by whom he was known and esteemed, employed the strongest inter-

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John Cotton, and his colleagues and successors.

¹ Neal, Hutchinson. Chalmers.

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cession in his behalf with Laud : but their exertions were unavailing ; and Dorset was constrained to inform his friend, “ that if it had been only drunkenness or adultery that he had committed, he might have found favour ; but the sin of puritanism was unpardonable.” Cotton, in consequence, retired to New England, where he soon found an ample solace of exile in an enlarged sphere of usefulness and virtue. To an earnest concern for the spread of religion he united a deep and constant personal sense of it ; and habitually seeking to illustrate and adorn by his life the doctrine which he taught, he promoted its acceptance by the weight of his character and the animating influence of his example. The kindness of his disposition, and the courteous benevolence of his manners, enabled him, in all his intercourse with others, to diffuse the influence of his piety no less sensibly than agreeably through the veins of his conversation. The loftiness of the standard which he had constantly in his view, and the assimilating influence of that strong admiration which he entertained for it, communicated to his character an elevation that commanded respect ; while the continual sense of his dependence on divine aid, and of his inferiority to the great object of his imitation, graced his manners with a humility that attracted love, and disarmed the contentious opposition of petulance and envy. It is recorded of him, that having been once followed from the church where he had been preaching, by a sour factious fanatic, who told him with a frown that his ministry had become dark and flat, he replied, “ *Both, brother, it may be both ; let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.*” On another occasion, being accosted in the street by a pragmatistical disputer, who insolently told him that he was an old fool, Cotton, with a mildness that showed he forgave the rudeness, and a solemnity that evinced him incapable of condemning the opinion of his neighbour, answered, “ *I confess I am so ; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.*”¹ The character, at once so venerable and so amiable, of this excellent clergyman, and of many of his colleagues, seems to have been formed by Providence for the express purpose of counteracting, by a happy

¹ Neal.

influence, the violent, divisive, and contentious spirit that long continued to ferment in a community of men whom persecution had rendered rigid and inflexible in opinion,—whose sentiments had not been harmonised by previous habits of union,—who were daily receiving into their body a fresh infusion of dissimilar characters and exasperated spirits,—and among whom each naturally considered the notions and practices for which he had individually suffered, as the most important features in the common cause. When we recollect the presence of such elements of discord, and the severe and protracted operation that had been given to that influence which tends to drive even the wise to frenzy, we shall be less disposed to marvel at the vehement heats and acrimonious contentions which in some instances broke forth to disturb the peace of the colony, than that in the midst of such threatening symptoms so much coherence and stability was preserved, and so much virtue, happiness, and prosperity attained. Among the instruments which the Divine Being adapted and employed to compose and unite the spirits of his people, were this eminent individual John Cotton ; Thomas Hooker, a man very little inferior to him in worth and influence ; and, at a later period, Dr. Increase Mather, who succeeded to the estimation which Cotton had enjoyed, and whose family supplied no fewer than ten of the most popular ministers of the age which they adorned, to the churches of Massachusetts, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England. If all the provincial churches had been guided by such spirits as these, the agitated minds of the inhabitants would doubtless have sooner attained a settled composure ; but, unfortunately, the intolerant and contentious disposition which many of the people had contracted did not long wait for ministerial leaders to excite and develope its activity.

The first theological dissension that arose in the colony was promoted by Roger Williams, who had emigrated to New England in 1630, and officiated for some time as pastor of New Plymouth; but not finding there an audience of congenial spirits, he obtained leave to resign his functions at that place, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a rigorous Brownist, keen, unpliant, illiberal, unforbearing, and passionate: he began to vent from the

Williams' Schism—
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1634. pulpit which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medley of notions, some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some which, if unexceptionable in the abstract, were highly unsuitable to the place where they were promulgated, and the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavoured to combine them. He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate: that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate,—not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to reject: that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid: that the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution. These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separating, that he not only refused all communion with persons who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and, when they refused to obey this prohibition, he forsook his ministerial office among them and established a separate meeting in a private house. He even withdrew from the society of his wife because she continued to attend the church of Salem, and from that of his children, because he accounted them unregenerate. In his retirement, he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, consisting of men, in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured severe affliction, and had seen worth and piety foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and spotted, as they conceived, with the iniquity of their idolatrous oppressors. One of these individuals, Endicot, a magistrate of the place, and formerly

deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of devouring zeal against superstition, was instigated by Williams to cut the red cross out of the royal standard; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed this standard without objection, caught the contagion of Endicot's fervour, and protested that they would no longer follow a flag on which the *popish* emblem of a crucifix was painted. The intemperate and disorderly conduct of Endicot was generally disapproved, and the provincial authorities punished his misdemeanour by reprimand and disability of holding office for a year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and comply, to a certain extent, with their remonstrances. They were preparing to call Williams to a judicial reckoning, when Cotton and other ministers interposed and desired to be allowed to reason with him; alleging that his vehemence and breach of order betokened rather a misguided conscience, than seditious principles; and that there was hope that they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you*, was the prediction of the governor; and the result of the conference proving the justice of it,¹ sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced upon Williams. This sentence excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile; when an earnest and pious admonition, addressed to them by Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon Williams to his fate. He was not, however, abandoned by his more select admirers, whose esteem and affection he had

¹ Though he would not retract his dogmas, it seems that some of the arguments that were employed with him sank into his mind, and at least reduced him to silence. Hooker, one of the ministers who was sent to deal with him, urged, among other reasonings,—“ If it be unlawful for an unregenerate person to pray, it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to ask a blessing on his meat; and if so, it is unlawful for him to eat, since food is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.); and it must be equally unlawful for you to invite him to eat, since you ought not to tempt him to sin.” To this he declined making any answer.—Mather.

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He founds
Provi-
dence.

gained to such a degree, that they resolved to brave every hardship, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, they directed their march towards the south; and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they purchased a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their plantation the name of Providence. Had Williams encountered the severities to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have lost his senses: the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects; and Cotton and his colleagues were not wholly mistaken, in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him, indeed, in a manner less flattering to themselves than a controversial victory would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He contributed, as we shall see, at a later period, to found the state of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the impetuous and yet punctilious spirit with which his doctrinal sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidity with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinion between the members of his own communion,—he now recommended by the exercise of meekness, charity, and forbearance. The great fundamental principles of christianity progressively acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence on his mind, he began to labour for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to this race of people, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to apprise of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and revealed to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship.¹ Endicot's vehemence was not less mellowed by

¹ Mather. Neale. Hutchinson.

time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts; and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great public advantage and general esteem.¹

CHAP.
II.
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The colony of Massachusetts had continued meanwhile to advance in the attainment of stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements: and this year an important and beneficial change took place in its municipal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians, had vacated a great many stations formerly occupied by their tribes; and as most of these were advantageously situated, the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness that dispersed their settlements widely over the face of the country. This necessarily led to the introduction of representative government; and, accordingly, at the period of convoking the general court, the freemen, instead of personally attending it, which was the literal prescription of the provincial charter, elected representatives in their several districts, whom they authorised to appear in their name and act in their behalf. The representatives were admitted, and henceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and council of assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the province. The abstract wisdom of this innovation could not admit of doubt; and, in defence of its legitimacy, it was forcibly urged that the colonists were only making an improved and necessary access to the enjoyment of an advantage already bestowed on them, and preventing their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or inadequate to represent the general interest and administer the general will. The number of freemen had greatly increased since the charter was granted; many resided at a distance from the places where the general courts or assemblies of the freemen were held; personal attendance had become inconvenient; and, in such circumstances, little if any blame can attach to the colonists for making with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting

Representative
assembly
established
in Massa-
chusetts.

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 1634. the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colonial community. In consequence of this important measure the colony advanced beyond the state of a mercantile society or corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a commonwealth endowed with political liberty. The representatives of the people having established themselves in their office, asserted its inherent rights, by enacting that no legal ordinance should be framed within the province, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed, in future, except by the provincial legislature.¹

1635. The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in England co-operated so forcibly with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts,—and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that had been established in the colony, presented a prospect so desirable, and (by the comparison which it invited) exposed the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church to so much additional odium,—that the flow of emigration seemed rather to enlarge than subside, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. Among the passengers, in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the following year, were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure in a more conspicuous scene.

Arrival of Hugh Peters. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Henry Vane the elder, enjoyed the dignity of a privy councillor at the English court. Peters, who united an active and enterprising genius with the warmest devotion to the interests of religion and liberty, became minister of Salem, where he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. His labours were blessed with a produce not less honourable than enduring. The spirit which he fostered has continued to prevail with unabated vigour; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry by which Salem has always been characterized, have been as-

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

cribed with just and grateful commemoration to the effects of Peters' residence there. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. But his race remained in the land which had been thus highly indebted to his virtue; and the name of Winthrop, one of the most honoured in New England, was acquired and transmitted by his daughter. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to wave his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of patrician family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his prospects in Britain, he chose to settle in an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The deep thoughtful composure of his aspect and demeanour stamped a serious grace and somewhat (according to our conceptions) of angelic grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance disclosed the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and of which the energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He possessed a prompt and clear discernment of the spirits of other men, and a wonderful mastery over his own. He has been charged with a wild enthusiasm¹ by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy by others, who have contrasted the vigour of his resolu-

¹ One ingenious writer speaks more respectfully of Vane's enthusiasm; declaring that "it seems never to have precipitated him into injudicious measures, but to have added new powers to his natural sagacity." "He mistook," continues the writer, "his deep penetration for a prophetic spirit, and the light of his genius for divine irradiation." I see no proof that he entertained the first of these notions, and no mistake in the second.

BOOK

II.

1635.

tion with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave deliberate constancy. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, that, though constitutionally timid,¹ and keenly susceptible of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with a heroic and smiling intrepidity, and encountered it with tranquil and dignified resignation. The man who could so command himself, was formed to acquire a powerful ascendancy over the minds of others. He was instantly admitted a freeman of Massachusetts; and extending his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he displayed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by unanimous choice, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. These hopes, however, were disappointed. Vane, not finding in the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked its energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had conceived singularly just and profound views of christian doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by a wild extravagance of behaviour, he very soon witnessed the abridgment of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity.²

1636.
who is
elected
governor.

Founda-
tion of
Connec-
ticut—

1636.

The incessant flow of emigration to Massachusetts, causing the inhabitants of some of the towns to feel themselves straitened for room, suggested the formation of additional establishments. A project of founding a new settlement on the banks of the river Connecticut was now em-

¹ See note V. at the end of the volume.

² *America Painted to the Life*, by Ferdinando Gorges. There is a copy of this work in the Redcross-street Library of London. Neal. Hutchinson. Dwight's Travels in New England and New York. Vane was accompanied to America by Lord Leigh, son of the Earl of Marlborough, who had conceived a curiosity to behold the New England settlements.

braced by Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston, and a hundred of the members of his congregation. After enduring extreme hardship, and encountering the usual difficulties that attended the foundation of civilised society in this quarter of America, with the usual display of puritan fortitude and resolution, they at length succeeded in establishing a plantation, which gradually enlarged into the flourishing state of Connecticut. Some Dutch settlers from New York, who had previously occupied a post in this country, were compelled to surrender it to the British colonists, who, moreover, obtained shortly after from Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele, an assignation to a district which these noblemen had acquired in the same quarter, with the intention of flying from the royal tyranny to America.¹ Hooker and his comrades at first carried with them a commission from the government of Massachusetts, for the administration of justice in their new settlement; but, subsequently ascertaining that their territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities from whom the commission was derived, they combined themselves by a voluntary association into a body politic, constructed on the model of the colonial society from which they had separated. They continued in this condition till the Restoration, when they obtained a charter for themselves from King Charles the Second. That this secession from the colony of Massachusetts, was occasioned by lack of room in a province yet imperfectly peopled, has appeared so improbable to some writers, that they have thought it necessary to assign another cause, and have found none so probable or satisfactory as the jealousy which they conclude that Hooker must inevitably have entertained towards Cotton, whose patriarchal authority had attained such a height in Massachusetts that even a formidable political dissension was

¹ Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele had proceeded so far in their design as to send an agent to take possession of their territory, and build a fort. Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil liberty and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardour for emigration subsided, and nearer and more interesting prospects opened to their activity in England. Chalmers.

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quelled by one of his pacific discourses. But envy was not a passion congenial to the breast of Hooker, or likely to be generated by the character or influence of Cotton. The notion of a redundant population was the more readily entertained at this period from the unwillingness of the settlers to penetrate far into the interior of the country and deprive themselves of an easy communication with the coast. Another reason, indeed, appears to have suggested the formation of the new settlement; but it was a reason that argued not dissension, but community of feeling and design between the planters who remained in Massachusetts and those who removed to Connecticut. By the establishment of this advanced station, a barrier, it was hoped, would be erected against the troublesome incursions of the Pequod Indians.¹ Nor is it utterly improbable that some of the seceders to the new settlement were actuated by a restless spirit which had hoped too much from external change, and which vainly urged a farther pursuit of that spring of contentment which must rise up in the minds of those who would enjoy it.

And New-
haven.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this new settlement, another plantation was formed about two years after, by a numerous body of emigrants who arrived from England, under the guidance of Theophilus Eaton, a man of large fortune, and John Davenport, an eminent puritan minister. Averse to erect the social institutions which they projected upon foundations previously laid by other hands, these adventurers declined to settle in Massachusetts, which already presented the scene of a thriving and well-compacted community: and smit with the attractions of a vacant territory skirting the large and commodious bay to the south-west of Connecticut river, they purchased from its Indian owners all the land that lies between that stream and Hudson's river, which divides the southern parts of New England from New York. Repairing

¹ Mather. Hutchinson. Trumbull. It appears from Mather's Lives, that Cotton and Hooker were knit together in the firmest bonds of christian friendship and cordial esteem. Yet these men who forsook houses, lands, and country for the sake of the gospel, are described by Dr. Robertson as "rival competitors in the contest for fame and power!" This is the only light in which many eminent and even reverend writers are capable of regarding the labours of the patriot, the saint, and the sage. It is not uncommon for men, in attempting to paint the character of others, unconsciously to copy their own.

to the shores of this bay, they built, first the town of Newhaven, which has given its name to the whole colony, and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford. After some time they crossed the bay, and planted various settlements in Long Island; in all places where they came, erecting churches on the model of the independents. When we observe the injustice and cruelty exercised by the government of Britain, thus contributing to cover the earth with cities and to plant religion and liberty in the savage deserts of America, we recognize the overruling providence of that Being who can render even the insolence of tyrants who usurp his attributes conducive to his honour. Having no royal patent, nor any other title to their lands than the vendition of the natives, and not being included within the boundaries of any provincial jurisdiction established by British authority, these settlers entered into a voluntary association of the same nature and for the same ends with that which the founders of Connecticut had embraced: and in this condition they remained till the Restoration, when Newhaven and Connecticut were united together by a charter of King Charles the Second.¹

When the settlement of Connecticut was first projected, hopes were entertained that it might conduce to overawe the hostility of the Indians; but it produced a perfectly opposite effect. The tribes of Indians in the immediate vicinity of Massachusetts Bay were comparatively feeble and unwarlike; but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were planted in the midst of powerful and martial hordes. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets, who inhabited the shores of the bay which bears their name; and the Pequods, who occupied the territory which stretches from the river Pequod to the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were

War with
the Pequod
Indians.

¹ Neal. The colonists of Massachusetts were very desirous that Davenport and his associates should settle among them. But "it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that whenever a reformation had been effected in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution as near as possible to scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen who had followed him to America had the same views. In laying the foundation of a new colony, there was a fair probability that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed."—Trumbull.

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a numerous tribe, and renowned for their prowess and ferocity. They had early entertained a jealous hatred of the European colonists, and for some time past had harassed them with unprovoked attacks, and excited their abhorrence and indignation by the monstrous outrages to which they subjected their captives. Unoffending men, women, and children, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were scalped and sent back to their friends, or put to death with every circumstance of torture and indignity,—while the assassins, with diabolical glee and derision, challenged them to invoke the God of the christians, and put to the proof his power to save them. The extension of the English settlements excited anew the fury of the savages, and produced a repetition of injuries, which Vane, the governor of Massachusetts, determined at length to retaliate and punish by offensive operations. Receiving intelligence of a serious attack that had been made by the Pequods on the Connecticut settlers, he summoned all the New England communities to assemble and dispatch the strongest force they could contribute to the defence of their countrymen and of the common cause of European colonization. The Pequods, aware of the impending danger, were not negligent of prudent precautions as well as active endeavours to repel it. To this end, they sought a reconciliation with the Naragansets, their hereditary enemies and rivals in power; proposing that on both sides the remembrance of ancient quarrels and animosities should be buried; and urging the Naragansets for once to co-operate cordially with them against a common foe, whose progressive encroachments threatened to confound them both in one common destruction. But the Naragansets had long cherished a fierce and deep-rooted hatred against the Pequods; and, less moved by a distant prospect of danger to themselves, than by the hope of an instant gratification of their implacable revenge, they rejected the proposals of accommodation, and determined to assist the English in the prosecution of the war.¹

The Pequods incensed, but not dismayed, by this disappointment, hastened by the vigour of their operations to anticipate the junction of the allied provincial forces; and the

¹ Mather. Neal. Trumbull.

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Connecticut troops, while as yet they had received but a small part of the succours with which their friends had undertaken to reinforce them, found it necessary to advance against the enemy. The Pequod warriors amounting in number to more than fifteen hundred, command by Sassacus, their principal sachem, occupied two fortified stations, against one of which Captain Mason and the Connecticut militia, consisting only of ninety men, attended by a body of Indian allies, directed their attack. The approach of Mason was quickened by the information he obtained, that the enemy, deceived by a seeming retrograde movement of the provincial troops, had abandoned themselves to the conviction that the English dared not encounter them, and were celebrating in premature triumph the supposed evacuation of their country. About daybreak, while in deep slumber and supine security, they were approached by the colonists; and the surprise would have been complete, if an alarm had not been communicated by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately sounded, and they flew to their arms. The colonial troops rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way by the entrances into the fort, and setting fire to the huts which were covered with reeds, involved their enemies in the confusion and horror of a general conflagration. The Pequods, notwithstanding the disadvantage of their predicament, behaved with great intrepidity: but after a prolonged and furious resistance, they were totally defeated with the slaughter of at least five hundred of their tribe. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavouring to escape, were slain by the colonists, or falling into the hands of the Indian allies of the English, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. Soon after this action, Captain Stoughton having arrived with the auxiliary troops from Massachusetts, it was resolved to pursue the victory. Several engagements took place which terminated unfavourably for the Pequods; and in a short time they sustained another general defeat which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the victorious Europeans, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring

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1637. tribes, and lost their existence as a separate people. Sassacus had been an object of superstitious terror to the Naragansets, who had endeavoured to dissuade the colonists from risking a personal encounter with him, by the assurance that his life was charmed and his person invulnerable. After the destruction of his people, when he fled for refuge to a distant tribe, the Naragansets, exchanging their terror for cruelty, solicited and prevailed with his hosts to cut off his head.¹ Thus terminated a struggle more important in its consequences, than from the numbers of the combatants, or the celebrity of their names. On its issue there had been staked no less than the question, whether christianity and civilization, or paganism and barbarity should prevail in New England.

Severities
exercised
by the vic-
torious
colonists.

This first military enterprise of the colonists was conducted with vigour and ability, and impressed the Indian race with a high opinion of their stedfast courage and superior skill. Their victory, however, it must be confessed, was sullied by cruelties which it is easy to account for and extenuate, but painful to recollect. The Massachusetts militia had been exceedingly diligent before their march in purging their ranks of all persons whose religious sentiments did not fully correspond with the general standard of faith and orthodoxy.² It had been happy if they could have purged their own bosoms of the vindictive feelings which the outrages of their savage foes were but too well fitted to inspire. Some of the prisoners were tortured by the Indian allies, whose cruelties we can hardly doubt that the English might have prevented: a considerable number were sold as slaves in Bermudas,³ and the rest were reduced to servitude in the New England settlements. In aggravation of the reproach which these proceed-

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Trumbull. The destruction of the brave Pequods, though provoked by their own aggressive hostility, was lamented about 150 years after by an American divine and poet:—

“Indulge, my native land! indulge the tear
That steals, impassioned, o’er a nation’s doom;
To me each twig from Adam’s stock is near,
And sorrows fall upon an Indian’s tomb.”—DWIGHT.

² Regimental chaplains accompanied the New England forces in their campaigns; and in circumstances of doubt or danger, the chaplain was invited to pray for divine direction and assistance. Trumbull. When a commander-in-chief was appointed, his truncheon was delivered to him by one of the clergy. Ib.

³ A similar punishment was inflicted some years after in England on a number of the royalists who had been implicated in Peuraddock’s insurrection.—Hume.

ings undoubtedly merit, it has been urged, but with very little reason, that the Pequods were entitled to the treatment of an independent people gallantly striving to defend their property, their rights, and their freedom. But in truth, the Pequods were the aggressors in an unjust quarrel, and were fighting all along in support of unprovoked and ferocious purposes of extermination. The colonists had conducted themselves with undeviating justice, civility, and christian benevolence towards the Indians. They had treated fairly with them for the ceded territories; assisted them by counsel and help in their diseases and their agriculture; and laboured to communicate to them the blessings of religion. They disallowed all acquisitions of territory from the Indians but such as underwent the scrutiny and received the sanction of the general court; and they offered a participation of all the rights and privileges of their commonwealth to every Indian who would adopt the faith of a christian and the manners of a civilized human being. In return for these demonstrations of goodwill, they experienced the most exasperating outrage and barbarity, directed against all that they revered or loved; and were forcibly impressed with the conviction that they must either extirpate those sanguinary idolaters, or leave themselves and their own wives, children, and christian kindred exposed to a far more horrid extermination.¹ Even in the course of the war, they made propositions of lenity to the savages on the condition of their delivering up the murderers of the English; but their offers were uniformly rejected; and the people who thus avouched the murders as national acts, invited the avengers of blood to visit them with national punishments. The mutual hostilities of civilized nations, conducted by dispassionate mercenaries, and directed by leaders more eager for fame than prompted by animosity or personal apprehension, may be administered on the principles of a splendid game. But such hostilities as those which

¹ The colonists considered themselves in some degree accessory to the crimes which they failed to prevent by neglect of any of the means warranted by strict justice. Belknap cites the following entry in a MS. Journal of events in New England, some years posterior to this period, "The house of John Keniston was burned and he killed at Greenland. The Indians are Simon, Andrew, and Peter. Those three we had in prison and should have killed. *The good Lord pardon us.*"—History of New Hampshire.

B O O K the New England colonists were compelled to wage with the
II. hordes of savage assassins who attacked them, will always
1637. display human passions in their naked horror and ferocity.
The permission (for we must suppose that they could have prevented it) of the barbarity of their savage allies, appears the least excusable feature in their conduct. And yet in considering it, we must add to our allowance for passion inflamed by enormous provocation, the recollection of the danger and inexpediency of checking that mutual hostility of the savages which prevented a combination that might have proved fatal to all the European settlements. The reduction of their captives to servitude was unquestionably a great evil; but one for which it would not have been easy to suggest a substitute to men too justly alarmed to permit the enemies whom, overcoming by force, they had but half subdued, to go free, and too poor to support them in idle captivity. The captive Pequods were treated with all possible kindness, and regarded rather as indented servants than slaves. It must be acknowledged at least that the colonists observed a magnanimous consistency in their international policy, and gave the Indians the protection of the same stern principles of justice of which they had taught them to feel the vindictive energy. They not only tendered a participation of their own privileges and territory to all civilized and converted Indians; but having ascertained the stations which the savages most highly valued, and the range of territory that seemed necessary to their comfort and happiness, they prohibited and annulled every transaction by which these domains might be added to the European acquisitions. A short time after the termination of the Pequot war, an Indian having been wantonly killed by some vagabond Englishmen, the murderers were solemnly tried and executed for the crime; and the Indians beheld with astonishment the blood of three men deliberately shed by their own countrymen for the slaughter of one stranger. The sense of justice co-operating with the repute of valour, secured a long tranquillity to the English settlements.¹

While the military force of Massachusetts was thus em-

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

ployed in the field, the provincial commonwealth was shaken by intestine dissension, which had been excited by theological controversy, and inflamed by the gall and bitterness of unruly tongues. It was the custom at that time in Boston, that the members of every congregation should assemble in weekly meetings to reconsider the sermons of the preceding Sunday ; to discuss the doctrinal instructions they had heard ; to revive the impressions that had been produced by their Sabbatical exercises ; and extend the sacred influence of the Sabbath throughout the week. Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony, a lady of masculine spirit, subtle, ambitious, and enthusiastic, submitted with impatience to the restriction by which women at these meetings were debarred from the privilege of joining in the debates : and at length conceiving that she was authorised to exercise her didactic powers by the precept of Scripture, which enjoins *the elder women to teach the younger*, she established separate meetings of the christians of her own sex, where her zeal and talent soon procured her a numerous and admiring audience. These women who had partaken the struggles and perils of the male colonists, had also caught no small portion of the various hues of their spirit ; and as many of them had been accustomed to a life more replete with external elegance and variety of interest and employment than the state of the colony could supply, they experienced a listless craving for something to animate and engage their faculties, and judged nothing fitter for this purpose than an imitation of those exercises for the promotion of the great common cause which seemed to minister such comfort and supportment to the spirits of the men. Mrs. Hutchinson, their leader, had by her devout behaviour, gained the cordial esteem of John Cotton, whose charity never failed to recognise in every human being the slightest trace of those graces which he continually and ardently longed to behold ; and towards him she entertained and professed for some time a very high veneration. The friendship of Vane and some others had a less favourable influence on her mind ; and their admiring praise of the depth and vigour of her genius, seems to have elevated in her estimation, the gifts of intellect above the graces of character. She acquired the title of *The Nonsuch*, which the ingenuity of

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Disturb-
ance
created by
Mrs. Hut-
chinson.

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her admirers derived from an anagrammatical transposition of the letters of her name; and gave to her female assemblies the title of *gossipings*,—a term at that time of respectable import, but which the scandalous repute of female conventions and debates has since consigned to contempt and ridicule. Doing amiss what the scriptures plainly forbade her to do at all, she constituted herself not only a dictator of orthodoxy, but a censor of the spiritual estate and value of all the ministers and inhabitants of the province. Her canons of doctrine were received by her associates as the unerring standard of truth; and a defamatory persecution was industriously waged against all who rejected them as unsound, uncertain, or unintelligible. A scrutiny was instituted into the characters of all the provincial clergy and laity; and of those who refused to receive the doctrinal testimony of the conclave, few found it easy to stand the test of a censorious inquisition stimulated by female petulance and controversial rancour. In the assemblies which were held by the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, there was nourished and trained a keen, pugnacious spirit, and unbridled license of tongue, of which the influence was speedily felt in the serious disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of slanderous praters, whose inquisitorial deliberations and audacious decrees instilled their venom into the innermost recesses of society: and the spirits of a great majority of the citizens being in that combustible state in which a feeble spark will suffice to kindle a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was inflamed and distracted by the incontinence of female spleen and presumption.¹

The tenets adopted and inculcated by the faction of which Mrs. Hutchinson was the leader, were denounced by their adversaries as constituting the heresy of antinomianism,—a charge which, when preferred by the world at large, indicates no more than the reproach which the gospel, from its first promulgation, has been fated to sustain,—and when advanced by christians against each other, generally implies nothing else

¹ “When the minds of men are full of reforming spirit, and predisposed to the distempers which are engendered by such fulness, a little matter sometimes occasions rather than causes dangerous symptoms to appear.”—Sir James Mackintosh.

than the conclusion which the accusers logically deduce from certain articles of doctrine, but which the holders of these articles utterly reject and disallow. Nothing can be more perfectly free and gratuitous than the tender of heavenly grace in the gospel; nor any thing more powerfully operative than the influence which the faithful acceptance of this grace is calculated to exercise. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents contended more earnestly for the freedom, than for the constraining influence of divine grace; and with female eagerness and polemical impetuosity, were not slow to brand with terms of heretical and contemptuous designation every inhabitant of the colony, and particularly every minister, whose views did not entirely coincide with their own. The doctrines which they taught, and the censures which they pronounced, were received with avidity and delight by a considerable party; and proportionally provoking the displeasure of others, excited the most violent dissensions throughout the whole colony. Cotton endeavoured to moderate the heats that arose, by representing to the parties that their strife was prejudicial to the great purpose in which he firmly believed the minds of both were united,—the exalting and honouring of divine grace; *the one* (said he) *seeking to advance the grace of God within us in the work of sanctification, the other seeking to advance the grace of God without us in the work of justification.* But the strife was not to be stayed: his endeavours to pacify and reconcile, only attracted upon himself the fulmination of a censure of timorous and purblind incapacity from the assembly of the women; and, as even this insult was not able to induce him to declare himself entirely opposed to them, he incurred a temporary abatement of his popularity with the majority of the colonists. Some of the tenets promulgated by the sectaries he revered as the legitimate fruit of profound and perspicuous meditation of the scriptures; but he viewed with grief and amazement the fierce and arrogant spirit with which they were maintained, and the wild and dangerous errors with which they very soon came to be associated. The controversy raged with a violence very unfavourable to the discernment and recognition of truth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, both male and female, firmly persuaded of the superior soundness and purity of their system of doctrines,

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 1637. forgot to consider how far the opposition which it encountered might be traced to the obscurity and imperfection with which they themselves received and showed it forth, — a consideration which no human being is entitled to disregard, and which is peculiarly fitted to embellish superior attainments, and promote their efficacy by uniting them with the amiable graces of candour and humility. The principles they discarded from their creed laid hold upon their spirits; and while they contended for the sovereignty of divine grace in communicating truth, they assailed their adversaries with an acrimony and invective that might well seem to imply that truth was easily and exclusively attainable by the mere will and endeavour of men. The most enlightened and consistent christian will ever be the most ready to acknowledge that *he knows nothing yet as he ought to know*, and may have more cause than in this life he can ever discover, to blush for the defectiveness of a testimony, which, exhibited with more clearness and consistency, might have found a fuller acceptance with mankind. But no such considerations suggested themselves to mitigate the vehemence, or soften the asperity, of those busy, bold, and presumptuous spirits; nor did it ever occur to them that the truths they proclaimed would be discredited by association with the venom of untamed licentious tongues. It is asserted that the heat of their tempers gradually communicated itself to the understandings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party; and that in addition to their original tenets, that believers are personally united with the spirit of God, that commands to *work out salvation with fear and trembling*, belong only to those who are under a covenant of works, and that sanctification is not the proper evidence of christian condition,—they adopted that dangerous and erroneous notion of the Quakers, that the spirit of God communicates with the minds of believers independently of the written word; and, in consistency with this, received many revelations of future events announced to them by Mrs. Hutchinson, as equally infallible with the prophecies of scripture. But the accounts that are transmitted to us of such theological dissensions are always obscured by the cloud of contemporary passion, prejudice, and error: hasty effusions

of irritated zeal are mistaken for deliberate sentiments ; and the excesses of the zealots of a party held up as the standard by which the whole body may fairly be measured.¹

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Some ministers who had embraced Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, began to proclaim them from the pulpit with such opprobrious invectives against all by whom they were rejected, as at length brought the dissensions to a crisis ; and Vane being considered the confederate and protector of Mrs. Hutchinson, his continuance in office, or privation of it at the approaching annual election, was the first test by which the parties were to try with which of them resided the power of imposing silence on the other. So much ill humour and mutual jealousy had now been instilled into the minds of the people, that the utmost efforts of the sober and humane barely sufficed to prevent the day of election from being disgraced by a general riot. All the exertions of Vane's partizans failed to obtain his re-appointment ; and, by a great majority of votes, the government was conferred on Winthrop. Vane, nevertheless, still remained in the colony, professing his willingness to undertake even the humblest function in the service of a commonwealth of the people of God : and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, regarding his deprivation of office as a dangerous blow to themselves, ceased not to labour for his reinstatement with as much warmth as they had exerted in the propagation of their religious tenets. The government was loudly reproached, and Winthrop openly slighted and affronted. At length the prevailing party resolved to cut up this source of contention by the roots ; and a general synod of the churches of the colony having been assembled, the doctrines recently broached were condemned as erroneous and

¹ That to a certain extent, however, this error had crept in among them, seems undeniably manifest ; and it is remarkable that the notion which united them with the fundamental tenet of the Quakers should have issued from a society which, with farther resemblance to the Quakers, admitted the anti-scriptural irregularity of female teaching. Captain Underhill, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, carried this error to a monstrous length, and combined with it the grossest immorality of conduct. Much scandal was occasioned by his publicly maintaining that he had received a special communication of his everlasting safety while he was smoking a pipe. He was banished along with his patroness ; and, a few years after, returned to Boston, where he made a public confession of hypocrisy, adultery, and delusion. Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire. Another of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers was a woman named Mary Dyer, who retired to Rhode Island, where she subsequently became a Quaker. Winthrop's Journal (Savage's edition).

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heretical. As this proceeding served only to provoke the professors of these doctrines to assert them with increased warmth and pertinacity, the leaders of the party were summoned before the general court. Mrs. Hutchinson rebuked her judges for their wicked persecution of truth, compared herself to the prophet Daniel cast into the den of lions, and attempted to complete the similitude by exercising what she believed to be the gift of prophecy, and predicting that her exile would be attended with the ruin of her adversaries and all their posterity.¹ To this punishment, nevertheless, she was condemned, together with her brother Wheelwright, who was a clergyman, and had been the great pulpit champion of her doctrines: and some of the inferior members of the faction, partly on account of the violence with which they still proclaimed their theological tenets, and partly for the seditious insolence with which they had treated the new governor, were fined and disfranchised. In consequence of these proceedings, Vane quitted the colony and returned to England, "leaving a caveat," says Cotton Mather, "that all good men are not fit for government."²

From the unpleasing contemplation of these religious dissensions, we turn to the more agreeable survey of some of the consequences which attended their issue. A considerable number of persons, dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and the general court of Massachusetts, voluntarily forsook the colony: some of these united themselves with

¹ Her presumption was signally punished. The ruin she predicted as the consequence of her exile fell on herself and her family. She went to Rhode Island; but not liking that situation, removed to one of the Dutch settlements, where she and all her family were murdered by the Indians. Before she quitted Massachusetts, she signed a disclamation of some of the erroneous tenets which she had propounded; but maintained (in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary) that she had never entertained them. This was considered a proof of dissimulation. Perhaps it might rather have warranted the inference that the visionary and violent spirit which had laid hold of her had departed or subsided, and that she no longer recognized the opinions which through its medium had formerly presented themselves to her imagination.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Milton differed from Mather in his estimate of Vane's capacity. His fine sonnet to him begins thus:—

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

And ends thus:—

"Therefore on thy right hand Religion leans,
And reckons thee in chief her eldest son."

Roger Williams and his friends at Providence; and, being soon after abandoned by Mrs. Hutchinson, they fell under the guidance of that meliorated spirit which Williams had now begun to display. By a transaction with the Indians, these associated exiles obtained right to a fertile island in Naraganset Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Island.¹ Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and director of the colony, of which he was several times elected governor. In the year 1643, he made a journey to England, and, by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained and brought back to his fellow colonists a parliamentary charter, by which Providence and Rhode Island were politically united till the Restoration. Others of the exiles, under the guidance of Wheelwright, betook themselves to the north-east parts of New England; and, being joined by associates who were allured by the prospects of rich fisheries and an advantageous beaver trade, they gradually formed and peopled the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. These provinces had been respectively purchased from the council of Plymouth by Mason and Gorges, who made many ineffectual attempts to colonise their acquisitions with advantage to themselves. Mason and Gorges were actuated by views widely different from those which prevailed in general among the colonists of New England: they wished to become the proprietaries or hereditary chiefs of vast manors and seigniories, and to establish in America the very institutions which emigrants to America were generally seeking to escape from. They found it totally impracticable to obtain a revenue from the settlers in New Hampshire and Maine, or to establish among them a form of government suited to their own views. These settlers, composed partly of adventurers from England, and partly of exiles

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Coloniza-
tion of
Rhode
Island—

and of
New
Hampshire
and
Maine.

¹ The price paid to the Indians was fifty fathoms of white beads, ten coats, and twenty shoes. Chalmers. "When a fourth part of a township of the common size was sold by one Englishman to another for a wheelbarrow, it will be easily believed that it was of still less value to the aborigines. To the Indians, without an English purchaser, the land was often worth nothing; and to the colonist, its value was created by his labour." Dwight's Travels. "At Rhode Island, the settlers, in March, 1638, subscribed the following civil compact:—'We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and, as He shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates, to our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all the perfect and absolute laws given in his holy word.'"—Pitkin's Hist. of America.

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and voluntary emigrants from Massachusetts, framed for themselves separate governments, to which for a few years they yielded a precarious obedience ; till, wearied with internal disputes and divisions, they besought the protection of the general court of Massachusetts, and obtained leave to be included within the pale of its jurisdiction.¹

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A schism, similar to that which Mrs. Hutchinson had created in Massachusetts, was fomented at Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton ; but his career in this place was cut short by a conviction for swindling. He removed from Plymouth to Rhode Island, where he excited such disturbance, that even in this community, where unlimited toleration was professed, he was sentenced to be flogged and banished. Repairing to the plantation of Providence, he had nearly involved the people of this settlement in a war with the Indians ; till, at length, in compliance with the entreaty of Roger Williams, the government of Massachusetts sent a party to apprehend him and some of his adherents, and after subjecting them to a temporary imprisonment, obliged them to depart the country.²

The population of Massachusetts, impaired by the various drains from this territory which we have noticed, was recruited in the following year by the arrival of a fleet of twenty ships, with three thousand emigrants from England. The same year witnessed the foundation of an establishment calculated to improve the moral condition of the people. This was Harvard college, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, the first seminary of learning erected in North America. So highly prized were the advantages of knowledge and the influence of education by these generous parents of American society, that in the year 1636, while the colony, in addition to the feebleness and suffering of its infant condition, was struggling with the calamity of the Pequod war, the general court at Boston had appropriated four hundred pounds to the

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Sullivan's History of Maine. Belknap. The province of Maine was thus denominated in honour of the Queen, with whom Charles the First received as a dowry the revenues of a French province of the same name. Sullivan. Sullivan has been represented to me as an intelligent man ; but he is certainly not a perspicuous historian.

² Gorges' America painted to the Life. Neal. Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, occasioned some trouble to the colony by his complaints of the treatment which he had undergone.

erection of a college or academy. The bequest of an emigrant clergyman, who appointed his whole fortune to be applied to the same design, enabled them in the present year to enrich their country with an establishment whose operation has proved as beneficial to their posterity, as its institution, at this early period of their history, is honourable to themselves.¹

The national growth of the New England communities was now to be left to depend on their own resources ; and the impulse which had been communicated to it by the stream of emigration from the parent state was for a while to cease. For some time past, the policy of the English government towards these colonies had savoured of fear, aversion, and indecision : various demonstrations had been made of arbitrary purpose and tyrannical encroachment ; but, not being steadily prosecuted, they had served merely to keep the colonists united by a sense of common danger, and to endear the institutions of liberty by the destruction with which they were ineffectually menaced. The king, in reviewing his first proceedings towards the emigrants, seems to have doubted pretty early the soundness of that policy which had prompted so wide a departure from the general principles of his administration : the experience of every year had confirmed his doubts ; and he had wavered in irresolute perplexity between his original wish to evacuate England of the puritans, and his apprehensions of the dangerous and increasing influence which their triumphant establishment in America was visibly exerting. The success of his politic devices had appeared for a short time to answer all his expectations ; and he seemed

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Jealousy,
and fluctuating
conduct of
the king.

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Winthrop's Journal (Savage's edition). For some time the college possessed but a scanty collection of books. The efforts of the managers to accumulate a library, were aided by considerable donations of books made to them by that great and pious ecclesiastic Archbishop Usher ; the celebrated non-conformist minister Richard Baxter ; the great Whig lawyer and partizan Sergeant Maynard, and that distinguished warrior and philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby. This last mentioned benefactor to a puritan library was himself a Roman Catholic. It is an interesting fact, and which serves to dignify and embellish the relationship between the two countries, that many of the most illustrious men that England has ever produced, contributed to lay the foundation of civilized society in America. The enumeration of the patentees in the Virginian charters, includes almost every distinguished individual in England at the time. The people of New England have always retained that generous zeal for the cultivation of knowledge which their fathers thus early displayed. In the year 1780, and in the midst of the Revolutionary War, an Academy of Arts and Sciences was established at Boston.

B O O K likely to prevail over the puritans by the demonstration of a
 II. hollow good-will or lenity, suspended on the condition of their
 1638. abandoning the realm. A considerable portion of the embers of puritan and patriotic feeling had been removed from England, and cast away in deserts, where as yet no colony had been able to survive: but they had neither languished nor perished; and, on the contrary, had kindled in America a flame so powerful and diffusive that even distant England was warmed and enlightened by the blaze. The jealous attention of Laud was soon awakened to the disastrous issue of this experiment; and while he revolved the means by which its farther effects might be counteracted, he maintained spies in New England, whose intelligence increased his misgivings, and who courted his favour by traducing the objects of his dislike. The detection of this correspondence served to animate the resentment and promote the caution and the union of the colonists.

So early as the year 1633, the English government, yielding to its alarm, made a hasty and ill-considered attempt to repair its error, by issuing a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships that were about to proceed thither with passengers to be detained. It was soon perceived that this measure was premature, and that the only or at least the most probable consequence of it would be to irritate the patience of the puritans to obtain either at home or abroad the institutions which they had made preparation to establish and enjoy. Not only was the proclamation suffered to remain unexecuted, but even, at a later period, Charles reverted so far to his original policy as to promote, by his own interposition, the expatriation of young Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was perfectly well informed. After an interval of hesitation, measures more deliberate were adopted for subverting the provincial liberties. In the year 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility, for the regulation and government of the American plantations. By this commission the archbishop of Canterbury (Laud), and a few other distinguished associates were authorised to make laws and constitutions for the colonists of New England; to

establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance; and to punish capitally, or otherwise, all who should violate their ordinances. The same persons, in conjunction with a more numerous body of commissioners, were directed to examine all existing colonial patents and charters, *and if they found that any had been unduly obtained, or that the liberties they conferred were hurtful to the prerogative royal, to cause them to be revoked and quashed.* The English grand council of New Plymouth were easily persuaded to give the first example of submission to this arbitrary authority; and, in the same year, accordingly, they surrendered their useless patent to the king, under reservation of their claims as private individuals to the property of the soil. These reserved claims gave occasion at an after period to much dispute, perplexity, and inconvenience. The only proceeding, however, which immediately ensued against the New England colonists, was the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their charter in the Court of King's Bench, of which no intimation was given to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue. It is vain to speculate on all the fluctuating motives and purposes that from time to time guided and varied the policy of the king. He was formed to hate and dread alike the growth of religious and political freedom; but fated to render the highest service to the objects of his enmity by an unavailing and ill-directed hostility. In the year 1637, he granted a commission to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, appointing him governor-general of New England, and issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from transporting themselves, or others, to that country without a special permission under the Great Seal,—which, it was added, would be granted to none who could not produce credible certificates of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and of their having fully conformed to the ritual and ordinances of the church of England. But the critical state of affairs in Britain prevented the adoption of measures requisite to give effect to Gorges' commission; and the irresistible impatience of the oppressed puritans and friends of liberty to escape from the increasing heat of persecution or the approach of civil war, rendered the restrictions imposed on their emigration completely unavailing. We have seen that, in the year

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1638, a numerous transportation of additional emigrants took place. But, before the close of that year, the king gave way to a singleness and obstinate directness of purpose which now alone was wanting to assure and accelerate his ruin; and, after this long course of wavering policy, and unsuccessful experiment, he adopted a measure which, unfortunately for himself, was effectual. Learning that another fleet was preparing to sail for New England with a body of emigrants, among whom were some of the most eminent leaders of the patriots and puritans, he caused an order of council to be issued for its detention; and, the injunction being promptly enforced, the voyage was prevented. On board this fleet there appear to have been, among other distinguished individuals, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell¹—men to whom, but a few years after, Charles was fain to tender the highest offices in his realm, and whom his blind injustice now detained to avenge the tyranny by which so many of their brethren had been driven away. Various proclamations were issued the same year for the prevention of emigration to New England, which, from this time, accordingly, appears to have been discontinued.² These measures

¹ That Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet, or that they even intended to proceed to America, has been doubted, but I think without any reason. Hume (contrary to his own intention) has rather confirmed than removed the doubt, by the manner in which he has referred to a passage in Hutchinson, the meaning of which he has evidently misunderstood. But Dr. Mather, who preceded Hutchinson, expressly names all the individuals mentioned in the text as having prepared for their voyage, and been arrested by the order of council. Oldmixon recites the grant of land in America in favour of *Hampden* and others, which the emigrants were proceeding to occupy. Mather's statement is confirmed by Neal, Clarendon, Bates, and Dugdale. The strong mind of Cromwell appears long to have retained the bias it had once received towards emigration, and the favourable opinion of the settlers of New England, from which that bias had been partly derived. After the *Remonstrance* was voted in the Long Parliament, he told Lord Falkland that if the debate had been attended with a different result; he was prepared next day to have converted his effects into ready money and quitted the kingdom. When he was invested with the Protectorate he treated Massachusetts with distinguished partiality. Hume considered himself as levelling a most sarcastic reflection against Hampden and Cromwell, when he described them as willing to cross the Atlantic ocean for the sake of saying their prayers. Other writers who partake the political, but not the religious, sentiments of these eminent persons, have been very willing to defend them from this imputation.

Some historians have asserted that Hampden did actually, at one time, visit North America: and, doubtless, in the year 1623, there was at New Plymouth an Englishman named John Hampden, whom Winslow describes as "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country."—Belknap's *American Biography*.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Oldmixon. Chalmers. Hazard.

naturally inflamed the public mind to the highest pitch of CHAP. discontent. Even the hospitality of rude deserts, it was de- II.
clared, was denied to the oppressed inhabitants of England : 1638.
and men were constrained to inquire if the evils which could not be evaded might not be repelled; and since retreat was impracticable, if resistance might not be availing. By promoting emigration at first, the king had opened a vein which it was impossible to close without incurring considerable danger; and the increased severity of his administration augmented the flow of evil humours at the very time when he thus imprudently deprived them of their accustomed vent. The previous emigration had already drained the puritan body of a great number of those of its members whose milder tempers and meeker strain of piety rendered them more desirous than the generality of their brethren to decline a contest with their sovereign: the present restrictions forcibly retained in the realm men of more daring spirit and trained in long habits of enmity to his person and opposition to his measures.¹ He had now at last succeeded in stripping his subjects of every protection that the law could extend to their rights; and was destined soon to experience how completely he had divested them of every restraint that the law could impose on the vindictive retribution of their wrongs. From this period till the assembling of the long parliament, he pursued a short and headlong career of disgrace and disaster; while a gross infatuation veiled from his eyes the gulf of destruction to which his steps were tending.

In pursuance of the policy which the king at length determined openly and vigorously to pursue, a requisition was transmitted by the privy council to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, commanding them to deliver up their patent, to be conveyed by the first ship that should sail for England, in order that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto* that was depending against the colony. To

Measures adopted against the liberties of Massachusetts—

To September.

¹ The commencement of resistance in Scotland originated with some individuals of that country who had purchased a tract of territory in New England, and made preparation to transport themselves thither, but were prevented (it does not appear how) from carrying their design into execution. They had obtained from the assembly of Massachusetts, an assurance of the free exercise of their presbyterian form of church government.—Mather.

B O O K this requisition the general court returned for answer, a humble
 II. and earnest petition that the colonists might be heard before
 1638. they were condemned. They declared that they had transported their families to America, and embarked their fortunes in the colony, in reliance on his majesty's licence and encouragement; that they had never willingly or knowingly offended him, and now humbly deprecated his wrath, and solicited to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were forcibly withdrawn from them, they protested that they must either return to England or seek the hospitality of more distant regions. But they prayed that they might "be suffered to live in the wilderness," where they had till now found a resting place; and might experience in their exile some of that favour from the ruler of their native land which they had largely experienced from the Lord and Judge of all the earth. They retained possession of their patent while they waited an answer to this petition, which, happily for their liberties, they were destined never to receive. The insurrections which soon after broke out in Scotland, directed the entire attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him; and the long gathering storm which was now visibly preparing to burst upon him from every corner of his dominions, engaged him to contract as far as possible the sphere of hostility in which he found himself involved.¹ The benefit of his altered views was experienced by the Virginians, in the abolition of the despotism to which he had previously subjected them; and by the inhabitants of New England, in the cessation of his attempts to supersede by a similar despotism the liberal institutions which they had hitherto enjoyed. He would doubtless now have readily consented to disencumber himself of some of his domestic adversaries by promoting the emigration which of late he had so imprudently obstructed: but such a revolution of sentiment had taken place in England, and such interesting prospects began to open to the patriots and puritans at home, that the motives which had for-

Interrupted by the civil wars.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. This year (1638) was distinguished by an earthquake in New England, which extended through all the settlements, and shook the ships in Boston harbour and the neighbouring islands. The sound of it reminded some of the colonists of the rattling of coaches in the streets of London.—Winthrop's Journal. Trumbull.

merly induced them to migrate to the new world ceased any longer to prevail.

When the intercourse which for twenty years had subsisted between New England and the parent state was thus interrupted, the number of the colonists appears to have amounted to about twenty thousand persons,¹ or four thousand families, including about a hundred ministers. The expenditure that had already been incurred in equipping vessels and transporting emigrants, amounted to nearly two hundred thousand pounds—a prodigious sum in that age, and which nothing but the grand and unconquerable principle which animated the puritans could have persuaded men to expend on the prospect of forming an establishment in a remote uncultivated desert, offering to its inhabitants merely a plain unadorned freedom and difficult subsistence. When the civil war broke forth in the parent state, the colonists had already founded fifty towns and villages; they had erected upwards of thirty churches and ministers' houses; and combining with their preponderating regard to the concerns of religion, a diligent and judicious conduct of their temporal affairs, they had improved their estates to a high degree of cultivation. During the first seven years of the infancy of the settlement that was founded in 1630, even subsistence was procured with difficulty, and trade was not generally attempted:² but soon after that period, the people began to extend their fishery and to open a trade in lumber, which subsequently proved the staple article of New England commerce. In the year 1637, there were but thirty ploughs in the whole province of Massachusetts, and less than the third of that number in Connecticut. The culture of the earth was generally performed with hoes, and was consequently slow and laborious. Every commodity bore a high price. Though money was extremely scarce, the price of a good cow was thirty pounds; Indian corn cost five shillings a bushel; labour and every other article of use was

1640.
State of
New Eng-
land—po-
pulation—
laws—
manners.

¹ Josselyn's Voyage to New England. Hutchinson. Josselyn, who visited New England more than once, was intrusted by Quarles, the poet, with some of his metrical versions of Scripture to be submitted to the perusal and consideration of John Cotton.

² Yet in the year 1636, a ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead by the people of Salem.—Collections of the Massachusetts' Hist. Soc.

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proportionably dear. Necessity at first introduced what the jurisprudence of the colonists afterwards confirmed: and, desiring to perpetuate the habits that had proved so conducive to piety and virtue, they endeavoured by legislative enactments to exclude luxury and promote industry. When the assembling of the long parliament opened a prospect of safety, and even of triumph and supremacy to the puritans in England, many persons who had taken refuge in America returned to their native country: but a great majority of the emigrants had experienced so much of the substance and happiness of religious life in the societies which had been formed within the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger and nobler ties than any that patriotic recollections could supply; and resolved to abide in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden. In these infant communities of men, devoted to godliness and liberty, all hearts were strongly united by community of feeling on subjects the most interesting and important; the inhabitants were in general very nearly on a level in point of temporal condition; the connexions of neighbourhood operated as extended family ties; and the minds of all were warmed and invigorated by a primitive friendliness, freedom, and simplicity of mutual communication.¹ And yet some indications of an aristocratical disposition, arising, not unnaturally, from peculiar circumstances that had occurred in the formation of the colonial settlements, did occasionally manifest themselves. Several of the first planters, particularly Dudley, Winthrop, Bradford, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, were persons of ample fortune; and besides the transportation of their own families, they had borne the charge of transporting many poor families who must otherwise have remained in England. Others were members of the original body of patentees, and had incurred expenses in the procurement of

¹ The following passage in a sermon of Robert Cushman, one of the earliest ministers of New Plymouth, is characteristic of this state of society:—"Remember brethren that ye have given your names and promises to one another, here to cleave together. You must then seek the wealth of one another, and inquire, as David, How liveth such a man? how is he clad? how is he fed? He is my brother, my associate, and we ventured our lives together. Is his labour harder than mine? surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? I have two; I'll lend him one. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, and his welfare my welfare."—Belknap's American Biography.

the charter, the formation of the company, the equipment of the first body of adventurers, and the purchase of the soil from the natives, of which they had now no prospect of obtaining reimbursement. On this class of planters the chief offices of government naturally devolved during the infancy of the settlements, and long continued to be discharged by them with no other pecuniary recompense than presents, which were occasionally voted to them by the gratitude of their fellow citizens. It was probably owing to the prevalence of the peculiar sentiments inspired by the services of these persons, that in the first general court which was assembled in Massachusetts, the election of the governor, the appointment of all the other officers, and even the power of legislation, were withdrawn from the freemen, and vested in the council of assistants; and although the freemen reclaimed and resumed their rights in the following year, yet the exercise of legislation was confined almost entirely to the council of assistants, till the introduction of the representative system in the year 1634. From this time the council and the freemen, assembled together, formed the *general court*,—till the year 1644,—when it was arranged that the governor and assistants should sit apart: and thence commenced the separate existence of the democratic branch of the legislature, or house of representatives. Elections were conducted by *ballot*, in which the balls or tickets tendered by the electors consisted of Indian beans.¹

Some notice of the peculiarities of jurisprudence that already prevailed in the various communities of New England, will serve to illustrate the state of society and manners that sprung up at first among this singular people. By a fundamental law of Massachusetts it was enacted, “that all strangers professing the christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succoured at the public charge till some provision can be made for them.” Jesuits and other Romish priests, however, were subjected to banishment, and in case of their return, to death. This cruel ordinance was afterwards extended to the quakers; and all persons were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to import

¹ Winthrop's Journal. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Trumbull. Holmes's American Annals. (This is, perhaps, the most excellent chronological digest of its history that any nation has ever possessed.) Belknap's American Biography.

B O O K

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1640.

any of "that cursed sect," or of their writings, into the colony. By what proceedings the quakers of that age provoked so much aversion, and such rigorous treatment, we shall have an opportunity of considering hereafter. These persecuting edicts had no place in Rhode Island, where nobody was exposed to active molestation for religious opinions, and all professors of christianity, except Roman catholics, were admitted to the full rights of citizenship. All persons were forbidden to run, or even walk, "except reverently to and from church" on Sunday, or to profane the day by sweeping their houses, cooking their victuals, or shaving their beards. Mothers were even commanded not to kiss their children on that sacred day. The usual punishments of great crimes were disfranchisement, banishment, and temporary servitude : but perpetual slavery was not permitted to be inflicted upon any persons except captives lawfully taken in the wars : and these were to be treated with the gentleness of christian manners, and to be entitled to all the mitigations of their lot enjoined by the law of Moses. Disclaiming all but defensive war, the colonists considered themselves entitled and constrained in self-defence to deprive their assailants of a liberty which they had abused and rendered inconsistent with the safety of their neighbours. The practice, notwithstanding, was impolitic,—to say no worse,—and served to pave the way, at a later period, for the introduction of negro slavery into New England.

Adultery was punished by death ; and fornication by compelling the offending parties to marry (an absurd device, which degrades the institution of marriage), or by fine and imprisonment. Burglary and robbery were punished, for the first offence, by branding, for the second by branding and flogging ; for the third by death : but if either of these crimes, while yet not inferring a capital punishment, were committed on Sunday, an ear was to be cut off in addition to the other inflictions. We must beware of supposing that these penal enactments indicate the frequency or even the actual occurrence of the crimes to which they refer. In those communities where civilization has been a gradual attainment, penal laws denote the prevalence of the actions they condemn. But in communities at once infant and civilized, many of the laws must be regarded merely as the expression of the opinion of the legislators, and

by no means as indicating the actual condition of society. C H A P
 Blasphemy and idolatry were punishable with death; and II.
 though it was acknowledged in the preamble to one of the 1640.
 laws, "that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men," yet heresy, by this very law, was punished with banishment from the province. Pecuniary mulcts were imposed on every person "observing any such day as Christmas." Witchcraft and perjury directed against human life, were capitally punished. No capital charge was deemed capable of being proved by evidence less weighty than the oaths of two witnesses—a principle that deserves to be universally established, as well on account of its own intrinsic rectitude, as of the sanction it received from divine legislation. By a singular law, which, both from its peculiar terms, and from its never having been carried into effect, is more discreditable to the wisdom of its framers than to the humanity of the people at large, it was enacted, that although torture should not be ordinarily inflicted, yet a convicted criminal, known to have had accomplices, and refusing to disclose them, might be subjected to torture,—“yet not to such tortures as are barbarous and inhuman.”

All gaming was prohibited; cards and dice were forbidden to be imported; and assemblies for dancing were proscribed. By a law enacted in 1646, kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of honest salute, was punished by flogging. This was not considered an infamous punishment by the people of Massachusetts; and even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, there were instances of persons who after undergoing its severity, have associated with the most respectable circles of society in Boston. This doubtless arose from the peculiar character of the government, which, seeming to hold a patriarchal relation to the people, could never be supposed in correcting an offender, to divest itself entirely of hope and good will towards him. The economy of inns was regulated with a strictness which deserves to be noted as explanatory of a circumstance that has frequently excited the surprise of European travellers in America. The intemperance and immorality to which these places are so often made subservient, was punished with the utmost rigour; and all innkeepers were required, under the severest penalties, to restrain the excesses

B O O K

II.

1640.

of their guests, or to acquaint the magistrate with their perpetration. To secure a stricter execution of this law, it was judged expedient that innkeepers should be divested of the temptation that poverty presents to its infraction, and enjoy such personal consideration as would facilitate the exercise of their difficult duty ; and, accordingly, none were permitted to follow this calling but persons of approved character and competent estate. One of the consequences of this policy has been, than an employment very little respected in other countries, has ever been creditable in the highest degree in New England, and not unfrequently embraced by men who have retired from the most honourable stations in the civil or military service of the state.

Persons wearing apparel which the grand jury should account unsuitable to their estate, were to be admonished in the first instance, and if contumacious, fined. A fine was imposed on every woman cutting her hair like a man's, or suffering it to hang loosely upon her face. Idleness, lying, swearing, and drunkenness, were subjected to various penalties and marks of disgrace.¹ The *select men* assessed in every family, the quantity of spinning which the young women were esteemed capable of producing, and enforced by fines the pro-

¹ That these laws were not permitted to be a dead letter, appears from the following extracts from the earliest records of the court of Massachusetts. " John Wedgewood, for *being in the company of drunkards*, to be set in the stocks. Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found *suspicious of incontinency*, and seriously admonished to take heed. Thomas Petit, for *suspicion of slander*, idleness, and stubbornness, is censured to be severely whipped. Captain Lovel admonished to take heed of *light carriage*. Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." Hutchinson. Few obtained the title of Mr. in the colony: still fewer that of Esquire. Goodman and goodwife were the common appellations. It was by merit and services, rather than wealth, that the distinctive appellations were gained. Ibid. The strictness and scrupulosity of manners affected by many of the inhabitants exceeded the standard of the laws: and associations appear to have been formed for suppressing the drinking of healths, and the wearing of long hair and of periwigs. Ibid. In some instances, the purposes of these associations were afterwards sanctioned and enforced by the laws. " They thought the magistrates, being God's ministers, were bound to punish all offences in their courts in the same proportion as the supreme Judge would punish them in the court of heaven." Ibid. This notion frequently involved the magistrates in most absurd and indecent inquisitions; some of which, to the disgrace of puritan jurisprudence, have been preserved in Winthrop's Journal. It is related of some of the earlier settlers, that with an outrageous exaggeration of rigidity, they refrained from brewing on Saturday, because the beer would *work* upon Sunday.—Douglas, Summary of the British Settlements in America.

duction of the requisite quantities. Usury was forbidden; and the prohibition was not confined to the interest of money, but extended to the hire of labouring cattle and implements of husbandry. Persons deserting the English settlements, and living in heathen licence and profanity, were punished by fine and imprisonment. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them and general misconduct, incurred (conformably with the Mosaic code) the doom of capital punishment; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. Yet the parental authority was not left unregulated. All parents were commanded to instruct and catechise their children and servants, whom the select men or overseers were directed to remove from their authority and commit to fitter hands, if they were found deficient in this duty; and children were allowed to seek redress from the magistrate if they were arbitrarily restrained from marriage. The celebration of the nuptial ceremony was confined to the magistrate or such other persons as the general court might authorize. The provincial law of tenures was exceedingly simple and concise. The charter had conveyed the territory to the company and its assigns: and by an early law of the province, it was provided, "that five years' quiet possession shall be deemed a sufficient title." Instead of enacting or intending that the deficiencies of the provincial code should be supplied by the common or statute law of England, it was declared, that in cases where redress of wrongs or remedy of inconvenience was not ascertained by the ordinances or customs of the province, recourse should be had to the word of God.¹

Like the tribes of Israel, the colonists of New England had

¹ Abridgment of the Ordinances of New England, *apud* Neal. Trumbull. Joselyn. Burnaby's Travels in America. Chalmers. Winthrop's Journal. Account of the Blue Laws of Connecticut, in the Rhode Island Farmers' and Manufacturers' Journal. The primitive rigidity discernible in some of these laws was tempered by a patriarchal mildness of administration. Many instances of this occur in Mather's Lives of the Governors of New England. One I may be permitted to notice as a specimen. Governor Winthrop being urged to prosecute and punish a man who pillaged his magazine of firewood in winter, declared he would soon cure him of that malpractice: and, accordingly, sending for the delinquent, he told him, "You have a large family, and I have a large magazine of wood; come as often to it as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable."—"And now," he added, turning to his friends, "I defy him to steal my firewood again."

BOOK
II.
1640. forsaken their native land after a long and severe persecution, and journeyed into a wilderness for the sake of religion. They endeavoured to cherish a resemblance of condition, so honourable and so fraught with incitements to piety, by cultivating a conformity between their laws and customs and those which had distinguished the ancient people of God. Hence arose some of the peculiarities which we have observed in their legislative code; and hence arose also the practice of commencing their sabbatical observances on Saturday evening, and of accounting every evening the commencement of the ensuing day. The same predilection for Jewish customs begot, or at least promoted, among them the habit of bestowing significant names on children, of whom the first three that were baptised in Boston church received the names of Joy, Recompense, and Pity. This custom seems to have prevailed with the greatest force in the town of Dorchester, which long continued to be remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, and others of a similar character.¹

¹ History of the British Dominions in America.

CHAPTER III.

New England embraces the Cause of the Parliament.—Federal Union between the New England States.—Provincial Coinage of Money.—Disputes occasioned by the Disfranchisement of Dissenters in Massachusetts.—Impeachment and Trial of Governor Winthrop.—Arbitrary Proceedings against the Dissenters.—Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians.—Character and Labours of Elliot and Mayhew.—Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts.—Effects of the Missionary Labour.—A Synod of the New England Churches.—Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament.—The Colony foils the Parliament—and is favoured by Cromwell.—The Protector's Administration beneficial to New England.—He conquers Acadie.—His Propositions to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts—declined by them.—Persecution of the Anabaptists in Massachusetts.—Conduct and Sufferings of the Quakers.—The Restoration.—Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second.—Alarm of the Colonists—their Declaration of Rights.—The King's Message to Massachusetts—how far complied with.—Royal Charter of Incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence—and to Connecticut and Newhaven.

THE coincidence between the principles of the New England colonists, and those of the prevailing party in the Long Parliament, was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this party was identified the security of the provincial institutions from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote their interests in the parent state. The mission proved more fortunate for New England than for her ambassadors. By a vote of the House of Commons¹ in the following year, the inhabitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother country, “until the House shall make further order

CHAP.
III.

1641.

New England embraces the cause of the parliament.

¹ The reasons assigned by the House for this resolution are, that the plantations of New England are likely to conduce to the propagation of the gospel, and already “have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success *without any public charge to the state.*”

BOOK

II.

1642.

therein to the contrary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors; and when the civil wars broke out in England, they passed an ordinance expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and denouncing capital punishment against any who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth by endeavouring to raise a party for the king of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, who maintained (it was declared) the true interests of the king as well as their own. Happily for themselves, the colonists were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest: and, with a prudent regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbours to trading vessels from the ports in possession of the royalists. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation they received, to depute John Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, on their behalf, the celebrated Assembly of Divines that was convoked at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges that had been conferred on them, they pursued the cultivation of their soil with unremitting ardour; and their wealth and population rapidly increased. From the continent, they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands; and one planter, in particular, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved highly serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But an attempt which they made at the same time to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, proved quite unsuccessful. The colonists of Virginia were in general staunch royalists; and, with little concern for the substance of religion, professed a strong attachment to the forms and institutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they had received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed puritan sentiments, and were fugitives from ecclesiastical persecution in Britain. A deputation from this class of the Virginian planters had been lately sent to Boston to represent their destitution of proper ministers, and solicit a supply of pastors from the New England churches. In compliance with this request, three clergymen were selected to

proceed to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory C H A P.
 letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William III.
 Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach 1642.
 in various parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear
 them with an eagerness that might have been productive of
 important consequences. But the puritan principles, as well
 as the political sentiments of the colonists of New England,
 were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley,
 to admit of his encouragement being afforded to proceedings
 intended and adapted to propagate their influence among his
 own people. So far from complying with the desire of his
 brother governor, he issued a proclamation, by which all per-
 sons who would not conform to the ceremonial of the church
 of England were commanded forthwith to depart from Vir-
 ginia. The preachers, accordingly, returned to New Eng-
 land; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which
 long subsisted between the two oldest provinces of North
 America.¹

1643.

The disappointment occasioned by this fruitless attempt to
 establish a friendly connexion with the sister colony of Vir-
 ginia, was counterbalanced in the following year by an im-
 portant event in the history of the New England settlements;
 —the formation of a league by which they were knit together
 in a federal union that greatly augmented their security and
 power. The Naraganset Indians had by this time reflected at
 leisure on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods;
 and the hatred which they had formerly cherished against
 this tribe being extinguished in the destruction of its objects,
 was succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who
 had obviously derived the chief and only lasting advantage
 which the conflict had yielded. They saw the territories of
 their ancient rivals occupied by a much more formidable
 neighbour; and, mistaking their own inability to improve
 their advantages, for the effect of fraud and injustice on the
 part of the colonists, who were so rapidly surpassing them in
 number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the
 plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and pro-
 ceeded to concert measures with the neighbouring tribes for an

¹ Hutchinson. Neal. Hazard.

BOOK universal insurrection of the Indians against the English.
II.
1643. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected in consequence of an emergent quarrel with another tribe, which they pursued with an imprudent indulgence of that inordinate appetite for immediate revenge which seemed fated to disconcert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves entitled to anticipate by defensive hostility some more certain indication of it; when, fortunately, they were invited to act as mediators between two contending tribes. The Naragansets having conceived some disgust against a neighbouring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and failing in this attempt, plunged into a war, with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, implored the protection of the Massachusetts government, which agreed to interpose in their behalf. The Naragansets, apprised of this transaction, recollecting the terrible punishment inflicted on the Pequods, and conscious that they themselves had justly merited a similar visitation, were struck with dismay, and, throwing down their arms, concluded a peace dictated to them by the English. When their immediate apprehensions subsided, they paid so little attention to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists had made a demonstration of readiness to employ force that they sullenly fulfilled it. Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, and ascertaining by dint of inquiry the design that had been recently proposed and entertained of a general conspiracy of the Indians,—the authorities of Massachusetts conceived the defensive project of providing, by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a race of strangers whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of increasing and incurable jealousy to the whole Indian race. Having composed, for this purpose, a plan which

was framed in imitation of the bond of union between the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some leading personages among the colonists who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they communicated it to the neighbouring settlements of New Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies, accordingly, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. The instrument of confederation between them declared that their respective inhabitants *had all come into these parts of America with the same errand and aim, to advance the christian religion, and enjoy the liberty of their consciences with purity and peace.* It was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony should remain a separate and distinct municipal association, and retain exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the population of the respective communities; that a council, composed of two commissioners from each colony, should be annually convoked and empowered to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and that every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. Every state renounced the right of protecting fugitive debtors or criminals from the legal process of the particular community which they had wronged and deserted. The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it; but her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the colony of New Plymouth. Thus excluded from the benefit of the federal union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their separate security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and the humane and courteous policy which they pursued, proved remarkably successful.¹

CHAP.
III.
1643.
Federal
union be-
tween the
New Eng-
land
States.
May 19.

¹ Increase Mather's New England Troubles. Neal. Hutchinson. Pitkin's Hist.

B O O K The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the
 II. rights of sovereignty in this transaction,—which, doubtless,
 1643. bears all the features of a direct advance to independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own guidance and resources, in a territory many thousand miles removed from the seat of the government that claimed sovereign dominion over them. Of a people so situated, every progressive step in social advancement, whether it consisted in the enlargement of their numbers or the concentration of their resources, or otherwise tended to increase their power or promote their security, was a step towards national independence. Nothing but some politic system, or a series of events that might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and weakness, could have secured their perpetual existence as a dependent progeny of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have considered may have secretly produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the federal union were repeatedly noticed and recognised in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the league itself, with some alterations, subsisted till very near the æra of the British Revolution. A few years after its establishment, the principal object to which its deliberations and exertions were devoted, was the religious instruction of the Indians,—an object which was pursued in co-operation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England.¹

While the colonists were thus employed in measures calculated to protect and confirm their institutions, the parliament passed an ordinance of which the principle menaced those institutions with an entire overthrow. It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high admiral of all the British colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve com-

¹ Hutchinson.

moners to assist him : it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to investigate the actual condition of the colonies ; to require the production of their patents and records, and the personal attendance and testimony of any of their inhabitants ; to remove governors and other provincial magistrates ; to replace them by proper successors ; and to delegate to these new functionaries as much of the power granted to himself by the ordinance as he should think proper. This appointment, which created an authority that might have new-modelled all the provincial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain wholly inoperative. To some of the settlements the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents.¹ Happily for Massachusetts, either the peculiar favour and indulgence which she was thought to deserve, or the absorbing interest of the great struggle with which England was shaken, prevented any interference with her institutions until a period when her provincial assembly was able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that eluded the undesirable interposition without disputing the formidable authority of the parliamentary council.

Various disputes had arisen of late years between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadie or Nova Scotia. These differences were now adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the king of France on the one part, and *John Endicot, governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there*, on the other.² The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognising the king as a distinct authority from the parliament ; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of sovereign power they professed to yield allegiance. This state of things, as it led to practices, so it may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savoured of independence. A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted a few years after,³ when the increasing trade of the colonists with the

C H A P.
III.
1643.

1644.

Provincial
coinage of
money.

¹ Journals of the House of Lords. Chalmers. The people of Maine appear to have solicited the protection of the council in 1651. Hazard.

² Hutchinson.

³ In 1652.

BOOK II.
 1644. West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the provincial authorities to erect a mint for the coinage of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side ; of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other ; and with a tree as the symbol of national vigour and increase. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin money : and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. " But it must be considered," says one of the New England historians, " that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England it might well be judged unsafe to send bullion there to be coined ; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which would finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second during twenty years of his reign.¹

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply, the influence of the provincial clergy was able to accomplish. By
 1645. common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their judgment was honoured with immediate and universal acquiescence.² But in the following
 1646. year, a dissension much more violent in its nature, and much less creditable and satisfactory in its issue, was occasioned in this commonwealth by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the growing prosperity and importance of the settlements, the value of its political franchises was felt to be proportionably augmented ; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the dis-

¹ Hutchinson.² Ibid.

franchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these persons having proceeded with violence to assume the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Winthrop, the deputy governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the general court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy governor before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general sufferings, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they laboured were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of the rights of freemen, because they could not unite with the congregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They contended that, either the full rights of citizenship should be communicated to them, or that they should no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent,—to contribute to the maintenance of ministers from whose labours they derived no advantage, or to pay taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. The court was so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly from the charges which it advanced against him.

On the day appointed for his trial he descended from his official seat on the bench of the general court, and placing himself at the bar in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he addressed himself to explain and vindicate his conduct. Having clearly proved that the proceedings for which he was impeached had been warranted by law, and that the sole object of them had been to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority confided to him for this purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue¹ in

C H A P.
III.
1646.
Disputes
occasioned
by the dis-
franchise-
ment of
dissenters
in Massa-
chusetts.

Impeach-
ment and
trial of
Governor
Winthrop.

¹ Equal in dignity to Winthrop's vindication, and superior to it in elegance, is the protest by which that illustrious American President, Jackson, in April, 1834, defended himself against the charges wherewith he was arraigned by the Senate of the United States. But this admirable composition must adorn the pages of some later historian of America.

B O O K the following manner:—"Though I be justified before men,
 II. yet it may be, the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my ad-
 1646. ministration as calls me to be humbled: and indeed for me to
 have been thus charged by men is a matter of humiliation,
 whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If
 Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then
 desiring leave to propose some considerations by which he
 hoped to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of
 government: "The questions," he observed, "that have
 troubled the country have been about the authority of the
 magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have
 called us unto this office; but being thus called we have our
 authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God,
 and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the con-
 tempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples
 of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider that when you
 choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves,
 men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our
 infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe
 censurers of ours. The covenant between us and you is the
 oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, '*That
 we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's
 laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best
 skill.*' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if
 there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes
 you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point
 of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature,
 which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they
 list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of
 all restraint (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*): 'tis the
 grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of
 God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a
 federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority:
 it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this
 liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives;
 and whatsoever crosses it, is not authority but a distemper
 thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to
 authority; and the authority set over you will, in all admi-
 nistrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all
 but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose

their true liberty by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority.”

C H A P.
III.

1646.

The circumstances in which this address was delivered, recall the most interesting scenes of Greek and Roman history; while in the wisdom, piety, and dignity that it breathes, it resembles the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Winthrop was not only acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so prevailingly to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of Massachusetts every year after as long as he lived.¹ His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure: their petition was rejected, and several of the chief promoters of it severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make open acknowledgment of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and still persisting in their clamour for an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. Most of them were known or believed to incline to the ecclesiastical form of presbytery; and as this peculiar constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general rage and alarm. A deputation of the malcontents having made preparation to sail for England, and given significant hints of the changes they hoped to procure by their machinations in the parent state, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were seized and examined. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the provincial charter, the introduction of a presbyterian establishment, and

Arbitrary
proceed-
ings
against the
dissenters.

¹ This excellent magistrate (says Cotton Mather) continually exemplified the maxim of Theodosius, that *If any man speak evil of the ruler, if it be through lightness, 'tis to be contemned; if it be through madness, 'tis to be pitied; if through malice, 'tis to be forgiven.* One of the colonists who had long manifested much ill will towards his person, at length wrote to him. “Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me.” At his third election to the office of governor he declared, in a speech to his fellow citizens, that he had hitherto accepted *with a trembling hand* the presents by which they had acknowledged his services, and could no longer consent to a repetition of them. In the close of his life he is said to have expressed regret for the sanction he had given to intolerance. His death, in 1649, was deeply and universally bewailed; and all declared that he had been the father of the colony, and the first no less in virtue than in place.

B O O K of the whole code of English jurisprudence, into the provincial
 II. institutions, together with various other innovations, which
 1646. were represented as at once accordant with legislatorial wisdom and justice, and conducive to the important object of securing and fortifying the supreme dominion of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance contemplated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which they themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment, that not a voice was raised against the iniquity of the process by which the documents had been intercepted ; and the alarm was increased by the manifest impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still pursued. The ardour of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that had excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit ; and even John Cotton was so far heated and transported by the contagion of passionate zeal, as to declare, in a sermon, " That if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would, doubtless, find himself in the predicament of Jonah in the vessel." This was a prediction to which a long voyage was not unlikely to give at least a seeming fulfilment. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm ; whereupon, the sailors recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the offending part of the shipment, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were obliged to commit their credentials to the waves. When they arrived in England, however, they did not fail to prosecute their mission ; but the attention of the parliamentary leaders at that time being deeply engaged with more important matters, and Winslow and Hugh Peters, on behalf of the colony, actively labouring to traverse the designs of the applicants,—they obtained little attention and no redress.¹

Attempts
to convert
and civilize
the In-
dians.

From the painful survey of intolerance and contentious zeal for the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of christian sentiment evinced by those memorable

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

exertions for the conversion of the Indians that originated in the same year which had witnessed so much dispute and animosity. The circumstances that promoted the emigrations to New England, had operated with particular force on the ministers of the puritans; and so many of these spiritual directors had accompanied the other settlers, that among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been reckoned exceedingly burdensome and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favourable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the co-operation of a minister was considered indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labour among the neighbouring heathens, to whom the colonists had associated themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were progressively extending their industry, and overcoming by culture the rudeness of desert nature, the ministers of religion with earnest zeal aspired to an extension of *their* peculiar sphere of usefulness; and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility, the neglected wastes of human character that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of holy charity, was strongly penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been diligently labouring to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now by diligent study attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only himself to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian grammar*.¹ Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year, a scene of labour which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, we may believe, in that eternal record where alone

CHAP.
III.
1696

Character
and labours
of Elliot
and May-
hew.

October.

¹ This performance closes with the expression of his experimental conviction, that "prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, can do any thing."

BOOK II.
1646. the actions of men obtain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, manifested a steady and continual increase. He appears never himself to have doubted its endurance; but, confidently referring it to Divine impartment, he felt assured of its derivation from a source incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect: every faculty, and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray imparted to his soul from that everlasting source of sentiment and intelligence, which was the object of his earnest contemplation and continual desire. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest and most beloved of men. When he felt himself disabled from preaching by the infirmities of old age, he proposed to his parishioners of Roxbury to resign his ministerial salary: but these good people unanimously declared that they would willingly pay the stipend for the happiness of having him reside among them. His example indeed was the most valuable part of his ministry among christians: his life during many years being a continual effusion of soul in devotion to God and charity to mankind.¹

The mild persuasive address of Elliot soon gained him a favourable audience from many of the Indians;² and having successfully represented to them the expediency of an entire departure from their savage habits of life, he obtained from the general court a suitable tract of land adjoining to the settlement of Concord in Massachusetts, upon which a number of Indian families began, under his counsel, to erect fixed habitations for themselves, and where they eagerly received his instructions both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a

¹ He died in the year 1690. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into the heart, and at length all his faculties (he said) were absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he felt, he replied, "I have lost every thing: my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails." Richard Baxter declared that these words had given him inexpressible comfort, and that the account of Elliot's life, which he read when he himself was labouring under a dangerous illness, had recalled him from the brink of the grave. Mather. Neal.

² See Note VI. at the end of the volume.

violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powaws, or Indian priests, who threatened death and other inflictions of the vengeance of their idols on all who should embrace christianity. The menaces and artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming converts to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves entirely from the society and converse of the main body of their countrymen, and court the advantage of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate the capacity and benefits of their own improved condition. A considerable number of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the provincial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually and serenely happy; and there was nothing in his exterior condition that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred. On the contrary, it was obvious that of every article of merely selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself in order to communicate to them a share of what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. The women in the new settlement learned to spin; the men to dig and till the ground; and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased, they built a town by the side of Charles River, which they called *Natick*; and they desired Elliot to frame a system of municipal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The provincial government also appointed a court, which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, tendered the assistance of its judicial mediation to all who might be willing to refer to it the adjustment of their more difficult or important controversies. In endeavouring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of success corresponding to the visible varieties of human character, and the invisible predeterminations of the Divine will. Many persons

C H A P.
III.
1646.

B O O K
 II.
 1646. expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of christianity : some made a hollow profession of willingness to hear, and even of conviction,—with the view, as it afterwards appeared, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to every Indian who proposed to embrace the habits of civilized life. In spite of great discouragement the missionaries persisted ; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an invisible influence, their labours were attended with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists promoted the efficacy of these pious endeavours, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their lives,—they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and presented a model which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

1647. While Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined the gentlest manners with the most ardent and enthusiastic spirit, together with a few coadjutors, diligently prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, and the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species and promote the Divine glory, they wrought with their own hands among those Indians whom they persuaded to forsake savage habits ; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and spiritual improvement, they beheld their exertions crowned with the most signal success. The character and manners of Mayhew appear to have been singularly calculated to excite the tenderness no less than the veneration of the objects of his benevolence. His address derived a penetrating interest from that earnest concern, and high and holy value, which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death, the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding tears and betraying transports of grateful emotion. Both Elliott and Mayhew found great advantage in

the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their countrymen. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise, they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence; and, steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it; they found its influence sufficient to light them through the darkness of every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused multitudes to be converted in a day. They were not hasty in urging the Indians to embrace improved institutions: they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward,—more especially in the establishment of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they accounted likely to commend themselves by their obviously beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption; and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages, they also introduced, at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develop a sentiment of modesty, of which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally deficient. But all those practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and Divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently radicating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such visible fruits of piety can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660, that the first Indian church was founded by Elliot and his fellow-labourers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

Elliot had occasionally translated and printed various improved theological dissertations for the use of the Indians; and, at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time, in the native language of the new world, at

C H A P.
III.
1647.
Indian
Bible
printed in
Massa-
chusetts.

BOOK

II.

1647.

Effects of
the mis-
sionary
labour.

Cambridge in Massachusetts.¹ This, indeed, was not accomplished without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and cheerfully co-operated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable enterprises; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their narrow means were competent to afford. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent state, where, in the year 1649, there was formed, by act of parliament, a *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England*, whose co-operation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, having been dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards re-erected by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter and the influence of the illustrious Robert Boyle, who thus approved himself the benefactor of New England as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were collected in the province of Massachusetts more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons, reclaimed from a gross barbarism and degrading superstition, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay: there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories; and among some of the tribes that still pursued their wonted style of roving life, there was introduced a considerable improvement in civil and moral habits.

Among the various difficulties that obstructed the improvements which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the temporal condition of the Indians, it was found that the

¹ I have seen a copy of this edition of the Bible in the library of the late George Chalmers. It is a beautiful piece of typography.

Many earlier publications had already issued from the fertile press of New England. One of the first was a new metrical translation of the Psalms—very literal, and very unpoetical. To this last imputation the New Englanders answered, “that God’s altars need not our polishings.”—Oldmixon.

human constitution had been greatly deteriorated by ages of savage life. Habits of alternate sloth and activity, indulged from generation to generation, seemed to have gradually imparted a character or bias to the animal faculties, scarcely less fixed and inveterate than the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have deeply impaired the capacity of continuous exertion. In every employment that demanded steady labour, the Indians were found decidedly inferior to the Europeans. The first missionaries, and their immediate successors, sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But, at a later period, when it was found that the taint which the Indian constitution had received, continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardour was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly solicited its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline in the progress of the great work which we have contemplated,—the ardent gratitude of the first converts from darkness to light had subsided; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. But the work was never entirely abandoned, nor its visible fruits suffered wholly to disappear: amidst occasional decline and revival, the New England missions have been always pursued; and converts to piety and civility have continued to attest their beneficial efficacy upon the Indian race.¹

Having already overstepped very considerably the march of time, in order to exhibit a brief but unbroken view of the foregoing scene of missionary labour, we now return to follow more leisurely the general stream of affairs in New England.

¹ Day-breaking of the Gospel in New England. Shepherd's Clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians. Elliot's and Mayhew's Letters. Mayhew's Indian Converts. Whitfield's Discovery of the present State of the Indians. Of these and of various other works on the same subject, copies exist, partly in the Redcross-street Library of London, and partly in the Advocate's Library of Edinburgh. Baxter's Life. Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. The Indian tribes within the Connecticut territory proved remarkably indocile. Some individuals were converted; but no Indian church was ever gathered in this state. Trumbull.

BOOK
II.

1647.
A synod
of the New
England
churches.

1648.

1649.

Shortly after the dissensions that had prevailed in the year 1646, the general court of Massachusetts recommended the convocation of a general synod of the churches of New England, in order to frame an uniform scheme of church discipline for all the provincial congregations. The proposal was resisted by several of the churches, which expressed apprehension of the arbitrary purposes and superstitious devices which might be promoted by the dangerous practice of convoking synods. But, at length, the persuasion generally prevailing that an assembly of this description possessed no inherent authority, and that its functions were confined to the tendering of counsel, the second synod of New England was convoked at Cambridge. The confession of faith that had recently been published by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was thoroughly examined and unanimously approved. Three of the most eminent of the provincial ministers, Cotton, Partridge, and Mather, were then appointed to prepare a model of discipline for the New England churches. The *Platform of Church Discipline*, which they composed accordingly, and presented to the synod, after many long debates, received the general approbation and universal acquiescence.¹

A dispute had for some time subsisted between Massachusetts and Connecticut respecting a tax imposed by the legislature of Connecticut, and which operated with very questionable justice and most unquestionable disadvantage on the inhabitants of Massachusetts. Having complained to the commissioners of the confederated provinces, and not obtaining redress as speedily as they considered themselves entitled to expect, the legislative authorities of Massachusetts passed an act imposing a retaliatory duty not only on goods imported from Connecticut, but on importations from all the other states of the confederation. This unjust proceeding could be defended only by superior power; an advantage which so manifestly resided with Massachusetts, that the other confederates had nothing to oppose to it but an appeal to those principles of equity which one of their own number had already set the example of disregarding. Happily for them,

¹ Neal.

and for herself, their ally, though liable to be betrayed into error by resentment and partiality, was not intoxicated with conscious power. They presented a remonstrance to the general court of Massachusetts, desiring it "seriously to consider whether such proceedings agree with the law of love, and the tenor of the articles of confederation." On receiving this remonstrance, the government of Massachusetts, superior to the mean shame of acknowledging a fault, consented to suspend the obnoxious ordinance.¹

CHAP.
III.
1649.

1650.

But Massachusetts, in the following year, was engaged in a dispute with a power still more formidable to her than she was to her confederates, and much less susceptible of sentiments of moderation and forbearance. The Long Parliament having now established its authority in England, was determined to exact an explicit recognition of it from all the foreign dependencies of the state, and even to introduce such recognition into the charters and official style and procedure of subordinate communities. A mandate was accordingly transmitted to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, requiring them to send their charter to London; to accept a new patent from the keepers of the liberties of England; and to express in all public writs and judicial proceedings the

1651.
Dispute
between
Massachu-
setts and
the Long
Parlia-
ment.

² Hutchinson. Chalmers. Another dispute, which occurred about three years after, between Massachusetts and the other confederated states, is related with great minuteness, and I think with no small injustice and partiality, by the respectable historian of Connecticut. In 1653, a discovery was supposed to have been made of a conspiracy between Stuyvesant, the governor of the Dutch colony, afterwards called New York, and the Indians, for the extermination of the English. The evidence of this sanguinary project (which Stuyvesant indignantly disclaimed) was judged sufficient, and the resolution of a general war embraced, by all the commissioners of the union except those of Massachusetts. The general court of this province reckoned the proof inconclusive, and were fortified in this opinion by the judgment of their clergy, which they consented to abide by. To all the remonstrances of their allies, they answered, that no articles of confederation should induce them to undertake an offensive war which they considered unjust, and in which they could not expect the aid of Divine favour. The historian of Connecticut, not content with reprobating this breach of the articles of union, indignantly maintains that the scruples of Massachusetts were insincere. Trumbull. But, in truth, the evidence of the Dutch plot laboured under very serious defects, which were much more coolly weighed by the people of Massachusetts, than by the inhabitants of Connecticut and Newhaven, exasperated by frequent disputes with the Dutch, and exposed by their local situation to the greatest danger from Dutch hostilities. In the beginning of the following century, the situation of the provinces was so far reversed, that Massachusetts was compelled to solicit the aid of Connecticut in a general war with the Indians; and, on this occasion, Connecticut, remote from the scene of action, at first refused her aid upon scruples (which she afterwards ascertained to be groundless) respecting the lawfulness of the war.—Trumbull.

dependence of the provincial authorities on those existing de-
 positaries of supreme power in the parent state. This com-
 mand excited the utmost alarm in the colony: nor could all
 the attachment of the people to the cause of the parliament¹
 reconcile them to a surrender of the title under which their
 settlements and institutions had been formed, and which had
 never obstructed their obedience to the authorities that now
 proposed to revoke it. The parliament, indeed, had no
 more *right* to supersede the original patent of the colony,
 than to require the city of London, or any of the other corpo-
 rations of England, to submit their charters to similar disso-
 lution and renovation. But the colonists were aware that
 the authorities which had issued this arbitrary mandate
 had the *power* to enforce it; and, accordingly, declining a
 direct collision, they reverted to the policy which they had
 once before successfully employed to counteract the tyrannical
 intentions of the late king; and succeeded in completely
 foiling the leaders of that parliamentary assembly, so re-
 nowned for its success, resolution, and capacity. The general
 court, instead of surrendering the provincial patent, trans-
 mitted a petition to the parliament against the obnoxious
 mandate, setting forth, that “these things not being done in
 the late king’s time or since, it was not able to discern the
 need of such an injunction.” It represented the condition
 and authority on which the settlers had originally repaired
 to New England, their steadfast adherence to the cause of the
 parliament throughout the civil wars, and their present ex-
 plicit recognition of its supremacy; and prayed that the
 people might not now be worse dealt with than in the time of
 the king, and instead of a governor and magistrates annually
 chosen by themselves, be required to submit to others im-
 posed on them against their wills. The general court at the
 same time addressed a letter to “the Lord General Cromwell,”
 for the purpose of interesting his powerful mediation in their
 behalf, as well as of dissuading him from the prosecution of

The colony
 foils the
 parlia-
 ment—

¹ Though attached to the cause of the parliament, the people of New England had so far forgotten their own wrongs, and escaped the contagion of the passions engendered in the civil war, that the tragical fate of the king appears to have excited general grief and concern. The public expression of such settlements would have been equally inexpedient and unavailing; but that they were entertained is certain. See Hutchinson.

certain measures which he himself had projected for their advantage. The peculiar character which the New England colonists had displayed, the institutions they had established, and their predilection for the independent model of church government which he himself approved, had strongly recommended them to the esteem of this extraordinary man : and his favourable regards were enhanced by the recollection of the project he had conceived, and so nearly accomplished, of uniting his destiny with theirs in America. Nor were they at all abated by the compassion and benevolence with which the colonists received a considerable body of unfortunate Scots whom Cromwell had caused to be transported to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar, and of which he was informed by a letter from John Cotton. He seemed to consider that he had been detained in England for their interests as well as his own ; and never ceased to desire that they should be more nearly associated with his fortunes, and cheered with the rays of his grandeur. He had conceived an ardent desire to be the author of an enterprise so illustrious as the revocation of these men to their native country ; and as an act of honourable justice to themselves, as well as for the advantage of Ireland, he had recently broached the proposal of transporting them from America, and establishing them in a district of that island, which was to be evacuated for their reception. In their letter to him, the general court, alluding to this scheme, acknowledged, with grateful expressions, the kind consideration which it indicated ; but declined to comply with it, or abandon a land where they had experienced so much of the favour of God, and were blessed with a fair prospect of converting the heathen. They recommended, at the same time, their petition against the parliamentary measures to his friendly countenance, and beseeched "his Excellence to be pleased to show whatsoever God shall direct him unto, on the behalf of the colony, to the most honourable parliament." It is probable that Cromwell's mediation was successfully employed, as the requisition that had been transmitted to the general court was not urged any farther.¹

CHAP.
III.

1651.

And is fa-
voured by
Cromwell.

¹ Hutchinson. Hutchinson's Collection of Papers. Chalmers. The commis-

B O O K

II.

1652.

The successes of the Long Parliament had begotten in its leading members a spirit of domination, to the exercise of which the colonies were peculiarly exposed. In the history of Virginia we have remarked the laws by which the traffic of all the colonies with foreign states was prohibited, and the martial counsel and conduct by which the subjugation of that refractory settlement was decreed and accomplished. The province of Massachusetts, which was desirous, as far as possible, to act in concurrence with the parliament, and was perfectly sincere in recognising its supremacy, co-operated with the ordinance against Virginia, by prohibiting all intercourse with this colony till it had been reduced by the parliamentary forces. But it was not over those settlements alone, which opposed its supremacy, that the parliament was disposed to indulge the spirit of domination; and though Massachusetts was protected from its designs by the interference of Cromwell, Maryland, which had received its establishment from Charles the First, was compelled to admit the alterations of its official style which Massachusetts had evaded; and Rhode Island beheld the very form of government which it had derived from the parliament itself in 1643, suspended by a warrant of the council of state. What might have ensued upon this warrant, and what similar or farther proceedings might

sioners for New England, who were sent thither by Charles the Second, asserted, in their narrative, that the colony solicited Cromwell to declare it an independent state. Hutchinson's Collection of Papers. This is a very improbable statement, and was suggested perhaps by misrepresentation or misapprehension of the circumstances related in the text. The publication of Governor Winthrop's Journal has now clearly proved that the leading men in Massachusetts entertained from the beginning a considerable jealousy of parliamentary jurisdiction. "In 1641," says Winthrop, "some of our friends in England wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament,—giving us hopes that we might obtain much; but, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration—that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Hence it is obvious that the people of New England, in acknowledging the supremacy of parliament, had respect to it not as a legislative body, but as administering the functions of supreme executive power. They never willingly admitted that the mother country possessed a legislative control over them; or that, in forsaking her shores, they had left behind them an authority capable of obstructing or defeating the objects of their emigration.

¹ This year Massachusetts lost its eminent preacher and patriarch, John Cotton. Finding himself dying, he sent for the magistrates and ministers of the colony, and, with much solemnity and tenderness, bade them farewell for a while.

have been adopted by the parliament relative to the other colonies, were intercepted by its own dissolution, and the convergence of the whole power of the English commonwealth in the strong hands of Oliver Cromwell.¹

The ascendancy of the protector proved highly beneficial to all the American colonies, except Maryland, where unfortunately it was rendered instrumental to much injustice, discord, and confusion. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; and, by the decisive vigour of his interference, the people of Connecticut and Newhaven were relieved from the apprehensions they had long entertained of the hostile designs of the Dutch colonists of New York. All the New England states were thenceforward exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations; and both their commerce and their security were promoted by the conquest which the protector's arms achieved, of the province of Acadie from the French. But it was Massachusetts that occupied the highest place in his esteem; and to the inhabitants of this settlement he earnestly longed to impart a dignity of civil condition corresponding to the elevation which he believed them to enjoy in the favour of the great Sovereign of the universe. The reasons for which they had declined his offer of a settlement in Ireland, however likely to obtain his acquiescence, were still more calculated to enlarge his regard for a people who felt the force of such generous considerations. When his arms had achieved the conquest of Jamaica, he conceived the project of transplanting the colonists of Massachusetts to that beautiful island; and, with this view, he represented to them, that, by establishing themselves and their principles in the West Indies, they would carry the sword of the gospel into the very heart of the territories of popery, and that consequently they ought to deem themselves as strongly invited to this ulterior removal, as they had been to their original migration. He endeavoured to incite them to embrace this project by assurances of the countenance and support which he would extend to them, and of the amplest delegation of

CHAP.
III.
1653.

The protector's administration beneficial to New England.

He conquers Acadie.

1655.
His propositions to the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

1651.

¹ Chalmers.

BOOK

II.

1655.

1656.

Declined
by them.

the powers of government in their new settlement, as well as by descanting on the rich productions of the torrid zone, with which their industry would be rewarded: and with these considerations he blended an appeal to their conscience, in pressing them to fulfil, in their own favour, the promise of the Almighty *to make his people the head, and not the tail.*¹ He not only urged these views upon the agents and correspondents of the colonists in England, but despatched one of his own confidential officers to Massachusetts to solicit their compliance with his proposal. But the colonists were exceedingly averse to abandon a country where they found themselves happy and in possession of a sphere of increasing virtue and usefulness; and the proposal was the more unacceptable to them from the unfavourable reports they had heard of the climate of Jamaica. The general court, accordingly, returned an address, declining, in the name of their fellow citizens, to embrace the protector's offer, and withal beseeching his highness not to impute their refusal to indifference to his service, or an ungrateful disregard of his concern for their welfare.² Thus happily for themselves, were the colonists, on two several occasions, deterred from accepting the injudicious promotion which Cromwell was eager to bestow. Had they removed to Ireland, they would have incurred in the sequel a diminution both of happiness and liberty: had they proceeded to Jamaica, they would have been exposed, amidst the prevalence of negro slavery, to circumstances highly unfavourable to piety and virtue. In the mind of Cromwell, a vehement ardour was singularly combined with the most profound and deliberate sagacity; and enthusiastic sentiments were not unfrequently blended with politic considerations, in proportions which it is little likely that he himself was aware of, or that any remote spectator of his actions can hope to adjust. It is

¹ He alluded, I suppose, to Deuteronomy xxviii. 13.

² Hutchinson. Chalmers. Hazard. A similar answer was returned by New-haven to a similar application from the protector. Trumbull. There were not wanting some wild spirits among the colonists, who relished the protector's proposals. The notorious *Fenner*, who headed the insurrection of the *Fifth Monarchy Men* in England after the Restoration, was for some time an inhabitant of Salem, and prevailed with a party of zealots there to unite in a scheme of emigration to the West Indies. But the design was discouraged by the clergy, and intercepted by the magistrates.—Oldmixon.

obvious, on the one hand, that his propositions to the colonists, on both occasions, were connected with the securer establishment of his own dominion in Ireland, and the preservation of his conquest in the West Indies. But it is equally certain, on the other, that the colonists incurred neither his displeasure, nor even abatement of his cordial friendship by thus refusing to promote schemes on which he was strongly bent. Nay, so powerfully had they captivated his steady heart, that they were able to maintain his favour, even while their intolerance discredited the independent principles which he and they united in professing; and none of the complaints against them with which he was long assailed by the anabaptists and quakers, whose conduct and treatment in the colony we are now to consider, were ever able to deprive the people of the place they had gained in the protector's esteem.

The colonists had been of late years involved occasionally in hostilities with some of the Indian tribes, and in disputes with the Dutch, by whose machinations they suspected that the Indians were prompted to attack them. But these events had been productive of greater alarm than injury: and by far the most serious troubles with which the colonists were infested were those which arose from religious dissensions. Of all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least inhuman in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first demonstration of the peculiar doctrine of these sectaries in this province occurred in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had previously belonged,—declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The peculiar doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprung up, was at this time regarded with extreme aversion and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities with which the first professors of it in Ger-

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many had associated its repute;¹ and no sooner did Holmes and his friends establish a baptist conventicle in Massachusetts, than complaints of their proceedings, as a scandalous and intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. From the tenor of these complaints, it is manifest that the minds of the colonists were strongly impressed with the recollection of the licentious sentiments and infamous practices by which the wretched Boccold and his insane followers at Munster had sullied and discredited the baptist tenets; and that the bare profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonoured the Almighty, not only by dividing his people and resisting his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the scandalous indecency with which, it was alleged, that the rite distinctive of his sect was administered. It is admitted by the provincial historians, that the evidence that was adduced in support of these latter charges was insufficient to establish them. The court refused to hearken to the plea of liberty of conscience in behalf of Holmes and his followers, but proceeded, in the first instance, no farther against their persons, than to adjudge that they should desist from their unchristian separation: and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they were determined to pursue the dictates of conscience, and to obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, where Clark put on his hat as soon as the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small fines, or be flogged: and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to evince the constancy with which he could suffer for the rights of conscience and the defence of truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from

¹ See Robertson's Hist. of Charles the Fifth.

the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants,—who should attempt to seduce others from the practice or approbation of infant baptism,—or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered,—“*or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war.*”¹ From these last words, it seems that the baptists (naturally, or at least naturally accounted, inimical to the authority of their oppressors) either held, or were reputed to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they have derived their denomination, principles opposed to the acknowledgment of magisterial power and authority. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the baptists, in order to strengthen their party, and manifest their contempt for the colonial congregations, to admit into their communion all persons whom the established churches in New England had suspended from ecclesiastical privileges for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint those persons administrators of the sacramental rites. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and unjustly troubled men for the fidelity with which they adhered to what they firmly believed to be the will of God, in relation to a matter purely ecclesiastical.² The greediness with which every collateral charge against the baptists was received in the colony, and the passionate impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the christian philosopher a train of reflections no less instructive than interesting on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more

¹ Mather. Neal.

² The baptists who were exiled from Massachusetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth (Hutchinson),—whence it may be inferred, that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachusetts to do) principles adverse to civil subordination. This charge against them probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries.

BOOK II. truly indicates a latent consciousness of injustice and inconsistency.

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It is mortifying to behold such tares spring up in a field already so richly productive of missionary exertion and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed, proved in the sequel incompetent to restrain the spread of the baptist tenets; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them repaired to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the provincial authorities.¹

Conduct
and suffer-
ings of the
quakers.

The treatment which the quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but, at the same time, undoubtedly, much more justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational deportment of the quakers of the present age, to recognise the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the north of England, about the year 1644, and received from the derision of the world the title which they afterwards adopted as their sectarian denomination. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sect, and the founder of its system of faith, there existed a singular mixture of christian sentiment and doctrinal truth, with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal, he appears at first to have suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might have arisen from some malady which human science or friendly advice could remove; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to attempt a cure of what was spiritual in his disorder by singing psalms, and of what was bodily by smoking tobacco.² Fox rejected both parts of the prescription, as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his case, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to study, cherish, and cultivate the vague mysterious motions of

¹ Hutchinson.

² Fox's Journal.

his spirit; in short, to follow the impulse of his restless fancy as far as it would carry him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind, and was given up in an amazing degree to delusions which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit had thence derived, prevented him from personally wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and disciples too soon disclosed. In his journal, (one of the most curious and interesting productions of the human mind,) he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. This singular record displays, in many parts, a wonderful depth of thought and keenness of penetration, together with numberless examples of that delusion by which its author mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society, for a supernatural vocation and power to rectify whatever he deemed amiss. He relates with deliberate approbation various instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers; and though he reprobates the frenzy of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of religious truth: many passages of scripture are illustrated with happy sagacity; and labours of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honour to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree, appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay, in particular, who to the most eminent virtue, added talents and accomplishments of the first order, regarded Fox with the warmest love and veneration.¹

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those

¹ See Note VII. at the end of the volume.

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tenets which have subsisted ever since as the distinctive principles of quaker doctrine—that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the ordinary motions of the mind, acts by direct and cognizable impulse on the spirit of man ; that its influence, instead of being obtained by prayer to that Being who has promised to bestow it in requital of believing prayer, is procured by an introversion of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which, the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame ; and that the Holy Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the scriptures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word,—and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the pages of holy writ.¹ These dangerous errors have never been renounced by the quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and indeed had considerably declined before the end of that century, about the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and practically regarded, has been the progress of the sect into heresy of opinion or wild delusion of fancy and irregularity of conduct : in proportion as they have subsided into mere theoretical speculation, has been the ascendancy which real piety or rational and philosophical principle has obtained over the minds of the quakers. Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of those erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the quakers,—in the licence which they give to women to assume the office of teachers in their church,—and in the abolition of the sacraments so distinctly instituted and enjoined in scripture. But when the doctrines of quakerism were first promulgated, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries, far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of a rational and calculating age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that

¹ The quaker regulations with respect to plainness of speech and apparel, abstinence from music and other amusements, and general simplicity of manners, are too well known and too little pertinent to our purpose to require that they should be particularized here.

time, the minds of men were in a state of feverish agitation and excitement, inflamed with the rage of innovation, strongly imbued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that had so long repressed liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached, and many fantastic notions that had been vegetating in the unwholesome shade of locked bosoms, were abruptly brought to light: and all these were presented to the souls of men roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and latterly so accustomed to partake or contemplate the most surprising changes, that the distinction between speculation and certainty was considerably effaced. The presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, appear to have been generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless licence of speculation; and to them the doctrines of quakerism, from their earliest announcement, were the objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic speculation, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling. Before many years had elapsed, the ranks of the quakers were recruited, and their tenets, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in the early ages of the church, christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines, by the disciples of the Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic visionaries in the country, whom quakerism counted among its earliest votaries, and to whom it afforded a sanction and stimulus to the boldest excursions of lawless and uncertain thought, and a principle that was adduced to consecrate the most irregular and disorderly conduct. And accordingly, these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace,—who not many years after were accounted a class of philosophical deists seeking to pave the way to a scheme of natural religion, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the christian faith,—and who are now in general remarkable for a guarded

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composure of language, an elaborate stillness and precision of demeanour, and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets,—were, in the commencement of their sectarian history, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to bear witness from the fountain of oracular testimony, which they supposed to reside within their own bosoms, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage.¹ The unfavourable impression which these actions created, long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.

While, in pursuance of their determination to proselytize the whole world, some of the quakers travelled to Rome, in order to convert the pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Grand Turk,—a party of them embarked for America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious (protestant) denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and no one gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbours. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of its inhabitants to embrace the doctrine that a sensible experience of inward light and spiritual impression was the great end of christianity, and the essential characteristic of its votaries, and to oppose all regulated order, forms, and discipline, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the kingdom of the flesh for the kingdom of the spirit. On their first appearance in Massachusetts, where two male and six female quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the re-

July.

¹ The frenzy that possessed many of the quakers had reached its height in the year 1656, the very year in which the quakers first presented themselves in Massachusetts. See the proceedings in the House of Commons against James Naylor, a quaker, for blasphemy. Howel's State Trials. This unhappy person represented himself as the redeemer of the human race. Some particulars of his frenzy are related in Note VII. at the end of the volume. He lived to recant his errors, and even write sensibly in defence of the quakers, who were by this time increasing in respectability, and were yet magnanimous enough to acknowledge as a friend and associate the man who had done such disservice to their cause.

proach which their sect had incurred by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England, had preceded their arrival, and that they were regarded with the utmost terror and dislike by the great bulk of the people. They were instantly arrested by the magistrates, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. No such indications having been found, they were sent back to the places whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of severe punishment from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed at the same time, subjecting every ship-master importing quakers or quaker writings to a heavy fine; adjudging all quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labour in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile. The four associated states adopted this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of quaker opinions; but the assembly of this settlement wisely replied, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that they were much disturbed by the quakers, and by the tendency of their doctrines to unsettle the relations of mankind and dissolve the bonds of society; but that they found that the quakers delighted to encounter persecution, speedily sickened of a patient uncontradicting audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a place where their talent of heroic endurance was ingloriously buried.¹ It is much to be lamented that the counsel insi-

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¹ Gordon and other writers have represented the letter from Rhode Island to Massachusetts as conveying a dignified rebuke of intolerance, and have quoted a passage to this effect, which they have found somewhere else than in the letter itself. We shall find in the sequel, that the forbearance exerted by the government of this province towards the quakers did not last many years.

Roger Williams, who contributed to found the state of Rhode Island, endeavoured, some years after this period, to extirpate the quaker heresy, by challenging certain of the leaders of the sect, who had come from England on a mission to their brethren, to hold a public disputation with him on their tenets. They eagerly accepted his challenge; and their historians assure us that the disputation, which lasted for several days, ended "in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man." Gough and Sewell's *History of the Quakers*. It is more probable that, like other public disputations, it ended as it began. Williams never doubted that it had issued in his own favour; and signalized his triumph by publishing a book bearing the in-courteous title of *George Fox digged out of his Burrow*: to which Fox promptly replied by a publication entitled *A New England firebrand quenched, being an answer to a lying slanderous book by one Roger Williams, confuting his blasphemous assertions*.—Eliot's *New England Biography*.

BOOK II.
 1656. nuated in this good humoured reply was not embraced. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements, served only to inflame the impatience of the quaker zealots to carry their ministry into places that seemed to them to stand so much in need of it: and the persons¹ who had been disappointed in their first attempt, returned almost immediately to Massachusetts, and dispersing themselves through the colony, began to proclaim their mystical notions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had forsaken her husband and six children, in order to convey a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the provincial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the neighbouring savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions of the same description, the apostles of quakerism raised their voices against every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the provincial churches. Seized, imprisoned, and flogged,—they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and a great majority of the colonists were incensed at their pertinacity, and shocked at the impression they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety whose establishment and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desires. New punishments were introduced into the legislative enactments against the intrusion of quakers and the profession of quakerism; and, in particular, the abscission of an

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¹ Except one of the women, Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople, and had an interview with the Grand Vizier, by whom she was received with courteous respect. Bishop, the quaker, in his "New England Judged," observes, that she fared better among heathens than her associates did among professing Christians. He was perhaps not aware that the Turks regard insane persons as inspired. But whether insane or not, she was not altogether divested of a prudential concern for her own safety; for "when they asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet, she made a cautious reply, that she knew him not." Kelsey, another quaker, displayed less prudence and experienced less courtesy from the Turks. He preached in the streets of Constantinople to crowds who understood not one word of his language; and, by the advice of Lord Winchelsea, the English ambassador at the Porte, was punished by the Turkish authorities with the bastinado.

ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. Three C H A P.
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male quaker preachers endured the rigour of this cruel law.

But all the exertions of the provincial authorities proved 1658.
quite unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to brave the danger and court the glory of persecution. Swarms of quakers descended upon the colony: and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution,—calm, resolute, and inflexible in sustaining it,—they opposed their powers of enduring cruelty to their adversaries' power of inflicting it,—and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favour and pity in the minds of men who, detesting the quaker tenets, yet derived from their own experience a peculiar sympathy with the virtues of heroic patience, constancy and contempt of danger. When the quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work; when they incurred pecuniary fines they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance with its milder requisitions, the court adjudged two of those contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies; but as even this dismal prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court instead of executing its inhuman threat, reverted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations, that the quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against the worship of "*a carnal Christ*;" and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the quakers inculcated and professed to be guided by. In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding with his own hands to shed the blood of his son,—when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house and prevented the consummation of this blasphemous atrocity. Others interrupted divine service in the

B O O K churches by loudly protesting that these were not the sacri-
II. fices that God would accept; and one of them illustrated this
1658. assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congrega-
tion, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were *blind beasts and liars* who denied it. The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal dust, announcing it as a pictorial illustration of *the black pox*, which Heaven had commissioned her to predict as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, proclaiming the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people: and some attempted feats that may seem to verify the legend of Godiva of Coventry. One woman, in particular, entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times, and an emblem of the unclothed state of their own souls; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of illustrating the spiritual nakedness of her neighbours by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another quakeress was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror that these insane enormities were fitted to inspire, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation, by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which scripture was linked in impure association with every thing that was odious, ridiculous, and contemptible. Among their other singularities, the quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of even the slightest demonstration of respect to courts and magistrates: they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that cumbered the ground, and presently must be cut down, in order that the true light might have leave to shine, and space to rule alone; and, forgetting to what diabolical ends quotation of scripture has been made subservient, they freely indulged every sally of distempered fancy, which they could connect, however absurdly, with the

language of the bible. A quaker woman who was summoned by the provincial court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by other members of the sect to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the quakers in America,—a country where a few years after, under the guidance of sounder judgment and wiser sentiment and purpose, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue.

C H A P.
III.
1658.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologists of the quakers, that these frantic excesses, which excited so much indignation, and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine quakers, but by the *ranters* or wild separatists from the quaker body. Of these ranters, indeed, a very large proportion appear to have betaken themselves to America: attracted chiefly by the glory of enduring persecution,—but in some instances, perhaps, by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox.¹ It is certain, however, that these persons assumed the name of quakers, and traced all their frenzy to the peculiar quaker principle of searching their own bosoms for sensible admonitions of the Holy Spirit, independent of the scriptural revelation of Divine will. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of quaker principles was recognised

¹ One of the most noted of these separatists was John Perrot, who, in order to convert the Pope, had made a journey to Italy, where he was confined for some time as a lunatic. This *persecution* greatly endeared him to the quakers, and exalted him so much in his own esteem that he began to consider himself more enlightened than George Fox. He prevailed with a considerable party among the quakers to refrain from shaving their beards, and to reject the practice of uncovering their heads in the act of prayer, as a vain formality. Fox having succeeded, by dint of great exertions, in stemming these innovations, Perrot betook himself to America, where he appears to have multiplied his absurdities, and yet propagated them among the quakers to an amazing extent. Various missions were undertaken by George Fox and other English quakers to reclaim their brethren in America from the errors of Perrot, who finally abandoned every pretence to quakerism, and became a strenuous assertor of all the doctrines and observances against which he had formerly borne testimony. Gough and Sewell.

BOOK 11. by the quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of quaker writers.¹

1658. Exasperated by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of their radical principle was spreading in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts, at length, in the close of this year, introduced into the assembly a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all quakers returning from banishment. This legislative proposition was opposed by a considerable party of the colonists; and various individuals who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty and iniquity of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the assembly; and finally adopted by the narrow majority of a single voice.

1659. In the course of the two following years, this barbarous law

1660. was carried into execution on three separate occasions,—when four quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of their brethren in general had associated with the profession of quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields, and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise.² When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage,

¹ See Note VIII. at the end of the volume.

² The first quakers, instead of following the injunction of our Saviour to his apostles, that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another, seem to have found strong attractions in the prospect of persecution. One of those who were put to death declared, that as he was holding the plough in Yorkshire, he was directed by a heavenly voice to leave his wife and children, and proceed to Barbadoes: but hearing of the banishment of the quakers from New England, and of the severe punishments inflicted on persons returning there after banishment, he began to ponder on the probability of his receiving a spiritual direction to proceed thither, and

and their dying declarations breathed in general the most elevated and affecting piety. These executions excited much clamour against the government : many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony ; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust which the principles of these sectaries had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates at first attempted to combat the censure they had provoked, and published a vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them ; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished with the assurance of capital punishment in case of his return, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after brought to trial. Summoned to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law the court was authorized to put him on the defence of his life. When the last enactment against the quakers was cited to him, he asked, Who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England ? The governor very inappositely answered, that an existing law in England appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a quaker, and that there was no law in England that made quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of

very soon after received it accordingly. Tomkins' and Kendal's Lives, Services, and dying Sayings of the Quakers.

The woman who was executed was Mary Dyer, who, twenty years before, had been a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a disturber of New England.

B O O K death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to con-
 sider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against
 II. the quakers. "For the last man that was put to death,"
 1660. said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The magnanimous demeanour of this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in understanding to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning,—only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed in proportion as the demeanour of the quakers became more quiet and orderly; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, the infliction of flogging was suspended by a letter from the king to governor Endicot,¹ and the other magistrates of the New England settlements, requiring that no quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such severity, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the provincial government was more steady and durable than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the quakers in the course of the following year.

The persecution which was thus happily closed had not been equally severe in all the New England states: the quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and Newhaven. It was only in Massachusetts that the inhuman law inflicting capital

¹ Endicot was in an especial degree the object of dislike to Charles the Second. Hutchinson relates that he had seen a letter from the Secretary of State some time after this period, containing an intimation, that "the king would take it well if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor." But the people continued to elect him to this office as long as he lived. He died at the age of 77, in the year 1665, leaving behind him the character of "a sincere puritan."—Holmes.

punishment upon them was ever carried into effect.¹ At a subsequent period, the laws relating to *vagabond quakers* were so far revived, that quakers disturbing religious assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of executing these severities; the wild excursions of the quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the clergy; in their scruples as to which, the provincial legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.²

During the long period that had now elapsed since the commencement of the civil war in Britain, the New England provinces had continued to evince a steady and vigorous growth, in respect both of the numbers of their inhabitants and the extent of their territorial occupation. The colonists were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical estate which was the object of their supreme desire, and of civil and political freedom. They were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from the duties which all other importers were constrained to pay. By the favour of Cromwell, too, the ordinances by which the Long Parliament had restricted their commerce, were not put in force; and they continued to

¹ This law, though never executed in Connecticut, was embraced by the Assembly of this province, which also adjudged that "No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic."—Blue Laws of Connecticut, Arts. 13 and 14.

² Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Hazard. Oldmixon. Oldmixon, who entertained no predilection for either of the parties, has pronounced this impartial censure on the treatment which the Quakers experienced from the puritan magistrates of New England. "If the Quakers ran about the streets crying out against the sins of the people, there might have been a mad-house set apart for them. If Deborah Wilson marched through Salem stark naked, the hangman might have flogged her with the more advantage. I meet with some signs of frenzy and folly in the rants and riots of the Quakers, but nothing for which they should have been hanged: and these New England magistrates acted like the ignorant surgeon, that knew no way of curing a bad limb but by cutting it off."

My venerated friend, that illustrious Quaker philanthropist William Allen of London, in the doctrinal and historical *Summary* prefixed to his edition of Woolman's Journal, has related all the sufferings, without making any allusion to the offences of either the Quakers or the Ranters. He has also erroneously ascribed the first tolerating law in favour of the Quakers, to Massachusetts instead of Connecticut.

B O O K
II.

1660.

The Res-
toration.

December.

Address
of Massa-
chusetts to
Charles the
Second.

trade wherever they pleased. Almost all the peculiar circumstances which had thus combined to promote the prosperity of New England during the suspension of monarchy, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects awakened by the Restoration. There was the strongest reason to expect an abridgment of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political freedom. Various other circumstances concurred to retard the recognition of the royal authority in New England. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been successively urged to recognise, first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its ascendancy, and subsequently the Committee of Safety, as the legitimate organs of sovereign authority in England. But, doubtful of the stability of any of these forms of administration, they had prudently declined to commit themselves by positive declaration. In the month of July, a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, arrived with intelligence of the restoration of Charles the Second; but no authoritative or official communication of this event was received; and England was represented as being in a very unsettled and distracted condition. Massachusetts had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king: and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whaley and Goffe were permitted to travel through the province, and to accept the friendly civilities which many persons tendered to them, and with which Charles afterwards bitterly reproached the colonists.¹

At length authentic tidings were obtained that the royal authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, quakers, and other enemies of its policy or institutions, to the privy council and the houses of parliament. The general court was immediately convened, and an address voted to the king, in which, with considerable ability, and with that conformity which they studied to the language of Scripture, the colonists justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to their sovereign,

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

and entreated his protection and favour, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. Having vindicated their proceedings against the quakers, by an exposition of the heretical doctrines that had been introduced and of the seditious and indecent excesses that had been committed by these sectaries, they expressed their entire readiness and earnest desire to defend themselves against every other charge that already had been or in future might be preferred against them. "Let not the king hear men's words," they said: "your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmity, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire may be amended. We could not live without the worship of God: we were not permitted the use of public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our consciences, we, with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos." They assimilated their secession from England to that of "the good old non-conformist Jacob," from Syria; but declared that "the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars and temptations of either party, we account as a favour from God." They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the cultivation and enjoyment of religion. A similar address was made to Parliament; and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. Leveret, the agent for the colony at London, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs

C H A P.
III.
1660.

BOOK II.
 1660. which the colonists had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage over every portion of the empire. This disappointment, however, was softened by a gracious answer returned by the king to the provincial address, and which was accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whaley and Goffe. So prompt a display of good will and confidence excited general satisfaction: and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to incline to the desires of the people. With regard to Whaley and Goffe, the provincial authorities were greatly perplexed between the obligation of a duty which it was impossible to decline, and their reluctance to betray to a horrible fate two men who had lately been members of a government acknowledged and obeyed by the whole British empire, who had fled to New England as an inviolable sanctuary from royal vengeance, and had been recommended to the kindness of the colonists by letters from the most eminent ministers of the independent persuasion in the parent state. It is generally supposed, and is sufficiently probable, that intimation was privately conveyed to the fugitive regicides of the orders that had been received; and, although warrants for their apprehension were issued, and by the industry of the royalists a diligent search for their persons was instituted,—they were enabled, by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from place to place, and by strict seclusion, to end their days in New England.¹

Alarm of
the colo-
nists.

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their civil and ecclesiastical institu-

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Small as was the number of royalists in Massachusetts, it was too great to enable the people to afford permanent shelter to Goffe and Whaley. But in Newhaven there were no royalists at all; and even those who disapproved of the great action of the regicides regarded it (with more of admiration than abhorrence) as the error of noble and generous minds. Leet, the governor of Newhaven, and his council, when summoned by the pursuers of Goffe and Whaley to assist in the apprehension of them, first consumed abundance of time in deliberating on the extent of their powers, and then protested, that, in a matter of such importance, they could not act without the orders of an assembly. The royalist pursuers, incensed at this answer, desired the governor to declare at once whether he owned and honoured the king; to which he replied, "We do honour his majesty; but we have tender consciences, and wish first to know whether he will own us." Trumbull.

tions, were speedily revived by intelligence that reached them from England of the industrious malignity which was exerted in circulating the most unfavourable representations of their conduct,—of the countenance that these representations visibly received from the king,—and of the vindictive and tyrannical designs against them which the general opinion ascribed to the court. It was reported that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India islands was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England, in order to facilitate the introduction of arbitrary power; and that this armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations. Apprehensions of these and other changes at length prevailed so strongly in Massachusetts, as to produce a public measure of very remarkable character. The general court, having declared the necessity of promoting unity of spirit and purpose among the colonists for the vindication of their provincial liberties, in consistence with a just recognition of the supreme authority of England,—appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights and the limits of their obedience; and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of the committee, framed and published a series of declaratory resolutions expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on those important subjects. It was declared that the patent (under God) is the original compact and main foundation of the provincial commonwealth, and of its institutions and policy: that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic empowered to confer the rights of freemen; and that the freemen so constituted have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers: that the magistracy, thus composed, hath all requisite power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, except against laws repugnant to those of England: that the provincial government is entitled by every means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the province or its inhabitants; and that any imposition injurious

CHAP.
III.
1661.

May.

Their declaration of rights.

BOOK
II.

1661.

to the provincial community, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England. This firm and distinct assertion of provincial rights was accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which the people were engaged by their allegiance, and which were declared to consist in preserving the colony as a dependency of the English crown, and preventing its subjection to any foreign prince ; in defending, to the utmost of their power, the king's person and dominions ; and in maintaining the dignity and prosperity of king and people, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel.¹

These proceedings disclose unambiguously the alarming suspicions which the colonists had conceived of the character and policy of their new sovereign, and the firm determination with which they clung to the dear-bought rights of which they anticipated an attempt to bereave them. How far they are to be considered as indicating a settled purpose to resist tyrannical aggression by force, is a matter of uncertain speculation. It is not improbable, that the authors of them hoped, by strongly proclaiming their rights, and suggesting the extremities which an attempt to violate them would legally warrant, and might eventually provoke, to deter the king from awakening, in the commencement of his reign, the recollection of a contest which had proved fatal to his father,—and which, if once rekindled, even to an extent so little formidable as a controversy with an infant colony must appear, might soon become less unequal, by presenting an occasion of revival and exercise to passions hardly yet extinguished in England. If such were the views of the provincial leaders, the soundness of them was approved by the event. But, in the mean time, the provincial authorities in order to manifest a dutiful subordination to the parent state, issued the strictest injunctions for the pursuit and apprehension of Goffe and Whaley, and intimated, by public resolutions, that no persons obnoxious to

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. During the subsistence of the commonwealth in England, John Elliot, the missionary, on one occasion, so far overstepped his proper functions as to publish a little treatise against monarchical government. The general court of Massachusetts now deemed it expedient to cite him before them to answer for this impugnation of regal authority. Elliot acknowledged that he had acted rashly and culpably ; and, desiring forgiveness, obtained it.

the laws of England, and flying from her tribunals, would receive shelter in a colony that recognised her sovereign authority. Having now declared the terms on which they recognised the dominion of the English crown, the general court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord. They published, at the same time, an ordinance prohibiting all disorderly behaviour on the occasion, and in particular commanding that none should presume to drink his majesty's health, "which," it was added, "he hath, in an especial manner, forbidden,"—an injunction the most alien to the sentiments and habits of the king, and imputed to him on no better grounds, than that drinking of healths was prohibited by the statutes of Massachusetts. This meaningless practice, on account of its heathen original, had been offensive to the more scrupulous of the puritan planters, who were desirous in all things to study a literal and exclusive conformity to the revealed will of God,—and, accounting nothing unworthy of human regard that afforded occasion to exercise such conformity, had at length prevailed to have the ceremonial of drinking healths interdicted by law. Though many of the colonists entertained little favour or respect for this regulation, yet almost all of them were desirous that the restoration of royal authority should not be signalised by a triumph over any, even the least important, of the provincial constitutions. Intelligence having arrived soon after of the progress of the complaints that were continually exhibited to the privy council against the colony, and an order at the same time being received from the king, that deputies should be sent forthwith to England to make answer to those complaints, the court committed this important duty to Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers, of Boston. These agents were instructed to vindicate the loyalty and justify the conduct of the colony; to discover, if possible, what were the designs which the king meditated, or the apprehensions that he entertained; and neither to do nor submit to any thing prejudicial to the provincial charter. They undertook their thankless office with great reluctance, and obtained before their departure a public assurance of being indemnified by the general court for whatever damage

CHAP.
III.
1661.

August.

December.

BOOK II. they might sustain by detention of their persons or otherwise in England.¹

1661. Whether from the vigour and resolution that the recent conduct of the provincial government displayed, or from the moderation of the wise counsellors by whom the king was then surrounded, promoted by the influence which Lord Say and some other eminent persons employed in behalf of the colony, the agents were received with unexpected favour, and

1662. were soon enabled to return to Boston with a letter from the king, confirming the provincial charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for whatever treasons had been committed during the late troubles, to all persons but those who were attainted by act of parliament, and who had fled, or might hereafter fly, to New England. But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colonists: it required that the general court should pronounce all the ordinances that had been enacted during the abeyance of royalty, invalid; and forthwith revise them, and repeal every one that might seem repugnant to the royal authority; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person; that justice should be distributed in the king's name: that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonial of the church of England; that, in the choice of the governor and assistants, or counsellors, of the colony, the only qualifications to be regarded, should be wisdom and integrity, without any reference to peculiarities of religious faith and profession; and that all freeholders of competent estates, and not immoral in their lives, should be admitted to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, whatever might be their opinions with respect to church-government. "We cannot be understood," it was added, "hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like

The king's
message to
Massachu-
setts—

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

there."¹ However reasonable some of the foregoing requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the persons to whom they were addressed. The colonists considered themselves entitled to maintain the form of polity in church and state, which they had fled to a desert in order to cultivate, without the intrusion and commixture of different principles; and they regarded with the utmost jealousy the precedent of an interference with their fundamental constitutions, by a prince who, they were firmly persuaded, was aiming at present to enfeeble the system which he only waited a more convenient season to destroy. To comply with the royal injunctions, they apprehended, would be to introduce among their children the spectacles and corruptions which they had incurred such sacrifices in order to withdraw from their eyes,—and to throw open every office in the state to Roman Catholics, Socinians, and every heretic and unbeliever who might think power worth the purchase of a general declaration, that he was (according to his own unexamined interpretation of the term) a christian. The king, never deserving, was never able to obtain credit with his subjects for good faith or moderation: he was from the beginning of his reign, suspected of a predilection for the church of Rome; and the various efforts which he made to procure a relaxation of the penal laws against the protestant dissenters in England, were jealously and censoriously regarded by all these dissenters themselves,—with the solitary exception of the quakers, who considered the other protestants and the papists as nearly on a level with each other, and were made completely the dupes of the artifices by which Charles and his successor endeavoured to introduce the ascendancy of the Catholic church under the preliminary disguise of universal toleration.

Of all the requisitions in the royal letter, the only one that was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be carried on in the king's name. The letter had

C H A P.
III.
1662.

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. The royal invitation to persecute the quakers was disregarded by the government of Massachusetts. Whether from greater deference to the king's pleasure or not, the government of Rhode Island, in the year 1665, passed an act of outlawry against the quakers for refusing to bear arms.—Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.

BOOK
 II.
 1662.

commanded that its contents should be published in the colony; which was accordingly done,—with an intimation, however, that the requisitions relative to church and state were reserved for the deliberate consideration which would be necessary to adjust them to the existing constitutions. The treatment which the provincial agents experienced from their countrymen, it is painful but necessary to relate. The ill humour which some of the requisitions provoked was unjustly extended to these men; and their merits, though at first gratefully acknowledged, were very soon forgotten. Strongly impressed with the danger from which the colony had obtained a present deliverance, but which still impended over it from the designs of a prince who visibly abetted every complaint of its enemies, the agents increased their unpopularity by warmly urging, that all the requisitions should be instantly complied with. Norton, who, on the first inofficial intelligence that had been received of the king's restoration, had ineffectually counselled his fellow-citizens to proclaim the royal authority, — in now again pressing upon them a measure to which they were still more averse, — went the length of declaring to the general court, that if they complied not with the terms of the king's letter, they must blame themselves for the bloodshed that would ensue. Such language was ill calculated to soothe the popular disquiet, or recommend an ungracious cause; and the deputies, who had been actuated by the most disinterested zeal to serve rather than flatter their fellow-citizens, now found themselves opprobriously identified with the grievances of the colony, and heard the evils, which it was not in their power to prevent, ascribed to their neglect or unguarded concession. Bradstreet, who was endowed with a robust philosophical temper, was the less stung by this ingratitude, and entertained his lot without surprise or repining: but Norton, who was a man of keen and delicate sensibility, could not behold the altered eyes of his countrymen without the most painful emotion. When he heard many say of him, that "*he had laid the foundation for the ruin of his country's liberty,*" he expressed no resentment, but sunk into a profound and consuming melancholy. Vainly struggling with his anguish, and endeavouring to do his duty to the last, he died soon after of a broken heart. His loss was forthwith regarded

by the people as at once a signal misfortune and a cutting reproach; and the universal mourning that overspread the province expressed a late but lasting remembrance of his virtue, and bewailed an ungrateful error, which only repentance was now permitted to repair.¹

CHAP.
III.
1662.

The colony of Rhode Island had received the tidings of the restoration with much real or apparent satisfaction. It was hoped by the inhabitants that the suspension of their charter by the Long Parliament would more than compensate the demerit of having accepted a charter from such authority; and that their exclusion from the confederacy, of which Massachusetts was the head, would operate as an additional recommendation to royal favour. The restored monarchical government was proclaimed with eager haste in this colony; and one Clarke was soon after despatched as deputy from the colonists to England, in order to carry their dutiful respects to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favour. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted, in courtly strains, the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, of which the sole proof he could give was, that they had bestowed the name of *King's Province* on a territory acquired by them from the Indians; but meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to cite any one demonstration of duty or loyalty by their constituents to the present king or his father, from the period of their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to make a similar recognition even when the parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success.² Clarke succeeded in obtaining this year³ a charter, which assured to the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence the amplest en-

¹ Mather. Hutchinson. See Note IX. at the end of the volume.

² The Rhode Islanders had also presented an address to the rulers of England in 1659, beseeching favour to themselves, as "a poor colony, an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation in the bishops' days, and since from the New English over-zealous colonies." Douglas' Summary.

³ Although the charter was framed in 1662, yet, in consequence of a dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not finally passed till July, 1663.

B O O K
II.

1662.
Royal
charter of
incorpora-
tion to
Rhode
Island and
Provi-
dence—

joyment of religious liberty, and most unlimited concession of municipal jurisdiction. Certain of the leading colonists, together with all other persons who should in future be admitted freemen of the society, were incorporated by the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the governor, assistants, and representatives elected from their own number by the freemen. This assembly was empowered to enact ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the state of the country and condition of the people would admit; to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of appointment to places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the charter, on the suggestion of the provincial agent, were authorised to commence the work of carrying its provisions into execution. The governor and company were empowered to transport all merchandise not prohibited by the statutes of the kingdom, on payment of the usual duties; to exercise martial law when necessary; and upon just causes, to invade and destroy the native Indians or other enemies. The territory granted to the governor and company, and their successors, was described as that part of the dominions of the British crown in New England, which embraced the islands in Narraganset Bay, and the countries and districts adjacent,—which were appointed to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in common soccage. The inhabitants and their children were declared to be entitled to the same immunities which would have accrued to them if they had resided or been born within the realm. This is the first instance of the creation, by a British patent, of an authority of that peculiar description which was then established in Rhode Island. Corporations had been formerly constituted within the realm, for the government of colonial plantations: but now a body politic was created with specific powers for administering all the affairs of a colony within the colonial territory. The charter was received with great satisfaction by the colonists, who entered immediately into possession of the

democratical constitution which it appointed for them, and continued to pursue the same system of civil and ecclesiastical policy that they had heretofore observed.¹

CHAP.
III.

1662.

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut neither felt nor affected the same joy that Rhode Island had expressed at the restoration of the king, they did not fail to send a deputy to England to express their recognition of the royal authority, and to solicit a new charter.² They were fortunate in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty, John Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name who had presided with so much honour and virtue over the province of Massachusetts. Winthrop, deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king, from a friendship that had subsisted between his own grandfather and Charles the First,³ employed it so successfully as to obtain for his constituents a charter in almost every respect the same with that which had been granted to Rhode Island. The most considerable differences were, that by the Connecticut charter the governor was directed to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the inhabitants; a formality which was not required by the charter of Rhode Island, where many of the people scrupled to take an oath; and that, by the last-mentioned charter, liberty of conscience was expressly conceded in its fullest extent, while the other made no express mention of the concerns of religion, and no other allusion to them,

and to
Connecti-
cut and
Newha-
ven.

¹ Chalmers. Hazard.

² At Newhaven the republican spirit was so strong, that several of the principal inhabitants declined to act as magistrates under the king. Trumbull. It was here that Goffe and Whaley found the securest asylum, and ended their days. When a party of royal officers were coming in pursuit of them to Newhaven, Davenport, the minister of the place, preached publicly in favour of the regicides, from the text (Isaiah, xvi. 3, 4.) "Take counsel, execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab: be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." Holmes. It is remarkable that Salem and Newhaven, so highly distinguished among the towns of New England, by the puritan and republican zeal of their founders, have so long continued to be graced by the superior piety, morality, industry, and prosperity of their inhabitants. Dwight's description of Newhaven in the commencement of the nineteenth century, is one of the most agreeable pictures that was ever delineated of a social congregation of mankind.—Dwight's Travels.

³ Mather relates, that when Winthrop presented the king with a ring which Charles the First had given to his grandfather, "the king not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels, which indeed was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." See Note X. at the end of the volume.

B O O K
 II.
 1662. than what might seem to be implied in the requisition of the oath of supremacy. By this charter, Newhaven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which for some time did not obtain the unanimous approbation of the people of Newhaven, although they afterwards heartily acquiesced in it; and the description of the provincial territory was indefinite and incorrect. But on the whole it gave so much satisfaction, that Winthrop, on his return, was received with the grateful approbation of his fellow citizens, and annually chosen governor of the united colony as long as he lived.¹

There was thus established by royal charter, both in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a model of government the most perfectly democratic, together with the additional singularity of subordinate political corporations almost wholly disconnected by any efficient tie or relation with the organ of sovereign authority. All power, as well deliberative as active, was invested in the freemen of the corporation or their delegates; and the supreme executive magistrate of the empire was excluded from every constitutional means of interposition or control. A conformity to the laws of England, no doubt, was enjoined on the provincial legislatures; and this conformity was conditioned as the tenure by which their privileges were enjoyed; but no method of ascertaining or enforcing its observance was provided. At a later period, the crown lawyers of England were sensible of the oversight which their predecessors had committed; and proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained, requiring those colonies to transmit the records of their domestic ordinances to Britain for the inspection and consideration of the king. But this suggestion was never carried into effect.²

¹ Mather. Chalmers. Hazard.

² Chalmers.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration of ejected Ministers to New England.—Royal Commissioners sent thither.—Petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King—rejected.—Policy pursued by the Commissioners.—Their Disputes with the Government of Massachusetts—and Return to England.—Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King—Effects of it.—Cession of Acadie to the French.—Prosperous State of New England.—Conspiracy of the Indians.—Philip's War.—The King resumes his Designs against Massachusetts.—Controversy respecting the Right to Maine and New Hampshire.—Progress of the Dispute between the King and the Colony.—State of Parties in Massachusetts.—State of Religion and Morals in New England.—Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King—refused by the Colonists.—Writ of Quo Warranto issued against the Colony.—Firmness of the People.—Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited.

ALTHOUGH New England now consisted of a variety of distinct and independent jurisdictions, a similar policy naturally established itself in communities founded by men acknowledging the same national origin, conducted to America by the same motives, and assimilated by religious tenets, manners, laws, and municipal institutions. The commercial system which the English parliament thought fit to pursue tended still farther to unite these colonies by identity of views, interests, and purposes. The navigation acts which it framed, and which we have considered at much length in the history of Virginia, created for a time more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to disclose than to effectuate the restrictions designed to be imposed on the colonial trade. These restrictions were a copious and continual source of displeasure and controversy between the two countries. The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade; and its surrender was required with the more injustice and yielded with the greater reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which all the produce of the colonies could be vended, or from which all the wants of their inhabitants could be supplied. Even in the southern colonies, where the governors were appointed either by the crown or by proprietaries connected with the parent state, the act of navigation was very imperfectly executed; and in New England,

C H A P.
IV.

1663.

BOOK II. where the governors were elected by the people, it appears, for a considerable time, to have been entirely disobeyed.¹

1666.

While the commercial policy of the English parliament thus tended to unite the colonies by community of interest and opposition to the parent state, the ecclesiastical policy which now prevailed in England was calculated to promote among the colonists the remembrance of the original causes of secession from her territory, and at once to revive their influence, and recommend the virtue of toleration by sympathy with the victims of an opposite policy. In consequence of the rigorous execution of the act of uniformity in the close of the preceding year, about two thousand of the English clergy, the most eminent of their order for piety, virtue, and knowledge, were ejected from the established church; and, to the astonishment of the prevailing party, sacrificed temporal interest to the dictates of conscience. They were afterwards banished to the distance of five miles from every corporation in England: and many of them died in prison for privately exercising their ministry in contravention of the law. While the majority of them remained in Britain to preserve by their instructions the decaying piety of their native land, a considerable number were conducted to New England,—there to invigorate American virtue by a fresh example of conscientious sacrifice, and to form a living and touching memorial of the cruelty and injustice of religious intolerance. The merits and the sufferings of these men strongly excited the admiration and sympathy of the people of New England; and this year an invitation was despatched to the celebrated Dr. John Owen, one of the most eminent scholars and divines that the world has ever produced, to accept an ecclesiastical appointment in Massachusetts. Owen declined to avail himself of this invitation, on account of the cloud of royal displeasure which he perceived to be gathering against Massachusetts, and the measures which he had reason to believe would ere long be adopted for the subjugation of its civil and religious liberties. Other countries besides America contended for the honour of sheltering this illustrious man from the persecution of the church of England, and for the happiness and advantage expected from his sojourn. But he preferred suffering in a land where his

Emigration of ejected ministers to New England—

¹ Chalmers.

language was understood, to enjoyment and honour among a people with whom his communication must necessarily have been more restricted. At a later period, when the presidency of Harvard college was offered to him, he consented to embrace this sphere of useful and important duty; and having shipped his effects for New England, was preparing to accompany them, when his steps were arrested by an order from Charles, expressly commanding him not to depart from the kingdom.¹

The apprehension which the inhabitants of Massachusetts had entertained ever since the Restoration, of hostile designs of the English government, and which had been confirmed by the reasons assigned by Dr. Owen for refusing the first invitation which they had tendered to him, was strengthened by all the intelligence they derived from England. A great number of the ejected non-conformist ministers who had made preparation for emigrating to Massachusetts, now declined to settle in a country on which the extremity of royal vengeance was expected to descend: and at length the most positive information was received that the king had declared that, although he was willing to preserve the provincial charter, he was determined to institute an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining how far the provisions of this charter had been practically observed. It was reported soon after, that the king had associated this object with the design which he had embraced of provoking a quarrel with Holland; and that for this double purpose he was preparing to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of New York, and meant to send along with it a body of commissioners empowered to hear and determine (according to their own discretion) all complaints and disputes that might exist within New England, and to take every step that they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation. In effect, a commission for these purposes, as well as for the reduction of New York, had already been issued by the king to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. This measure, conspiring with the reports that had long prevailed of the projects harboured by the court of England against the liberties of the colonists, was calculated to strike them with dismay. They

CHAP.
IV.
1663.

Royal
com-
mis-
sioners sent
thither.

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

B O O K
II.
1663. knew that plausible pretexes were not wanting to justify a censorious representation of some parts of their conduct: and they were firmly persuaded that the dislike and suspicion with which the king regarded them could never be satisfied by any measure short of the entire abrogation of their institutions. Various controversies had arisen between the different settlements, concerning the boundaries of their respective territories; and loud complaints were preferred by the representatives of Mason, and by Gorges, and other members of the old council of Plymouth, of the occupation of districts and the exercise of jurisdiction to which these complainers pretended a preferable right. The claim of Mason to New Hampshire, derived from the assignment of the Plymouth council, had never been expressly surrendered; and Gorges' title to Maine had been confirmed and enlarged by a grant from the late king in the year 1639. As Gorges had adhered to the royal cause in the civil wars, the death of the king proved the temporary demise of his patent: and he as well as Mason's heirs had long abandoned their projects, in despair of ever prosecuting them to a successful issue. But now the restoration of royalty in England presented them with an opportunity of vindicating their claims; and the establishment of inhabitants in the territories, promised advantage from such vindication. They had as yet reaped no benefit from the money they had expended on their acquisitions: but they now embraced the prospect and claimed the right of entering upon the labours of others, who in ignorance of their pretensions had occupied and colonized a vacant soil, and held it by the title of their purchase from its native proprietors. In addition to this formidable controversy,—many complaints had been preferred by royalists, quakers, and episcopalians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The investigation and adjustment of these complaints and controversies were the principal reasons assigned for the commission. But, doubtless, the main object of concern to the English court was the suppression or essential modification of institutions founded and administered on principles that had so long waged war with monarchy, and so recently prevailed over it. The colonists readily believed the accounts they received

from their friends in England of this hostile disposition of their sovereign; and the proclamation by which they had cautioned the enemies of his government not to expect shelter in Massachusetts, had been intended to remove or appease it. When intelligence was received of the visitation that must soon be expected from England, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of solemn fast and prayer throughout its jurisdiction, in order to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles: and deeming it a point of the highest importance that the patent or charter should be kept "safe and secret," they ordered their secretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it to four of the members, who were directed to dispose of it in such manner as they should judge most conducive to its secure preservation. Aware of the profane licentious manners of European sailors and soldiers, and reflecting on the peculiar strictness of the provincial laws, the court adopted at the same time the most prudent precautions for preventing the necessity of either a hazardous enforcement, or a pusillanimous relaxation of its municipal ordinances.¹

C H A P.
IV.
1663.

On the arrival of the royal expedition at Boston in the following year, the commissioners presented their credentials to the governor and council, and demanded, in the first instance, that a troop of provincial militia should be embodied to accompany the English forces in the invasion of New York. Endicot, the governor, neither relishing the enterprise, nor empowered by the forms of the provincial constitution to levy forces without the consent of the general court, judged it necessary to convoke this body; but the commissioners, who had not leisure to await its deliberations, proceeded with the fleet against New York, desiring that the provincial auxiliaries should follow as quickly as possible, and signifying to the governor and council that they had much important business to transact with them on their return from New York, and that in the mean time the general court would do well to bestow a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done on the letter which the king had addressed to them two years before. The vague mysterious terms of this communication were certainly calculated, and would seem to have been deli-

1664.

¹ Hutchinson. Belknap. Sullivan. Hazard.

BOOK
 II.
 1664. berately intended, to increase the disquiet and apprehensions of the colonists. That they produced this impression is manifest from the transactions that ensued in the general court. On the assembling of this body, it was declared by an immediate and unanimous vote that they were "resolved to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." In compliance with the requisition of the commissioners, they equipped a regiment of two hundred men, who were preparing to embark for New York, when intelligence arrived that the place had already surrendered, and that the junction of the English and provincial forces was no longer necessary. The assembly then resumed consideration of the king's letter, which had been so emphatically commended to their attention; and passed a law extending the elective franchise to all the inhabitants of English or provincial birth, paying public rates to a certain amount, and attested by a minister as orthodox in their religious principles and not immoral in their lives, whether within or without the pale of the established church. They next proceeded to frame and transmit to the king a petition strongly expressive of their present apprehensions and their habitual sentiments. They represented at considerable length the dangers and difficulties they had encountered in founding and rearing their settlement; the explicit confirmation which their privileges had received both from the present monarch and his predecessor; and their own recognition of royal authority, and willingness to testify their allegiance in any righteous way. They expressed their concern at the appointment of four commissioners, one of whom (Maverick) was their known and professed enemy, who were vested with an indefinite authority, in the exercise of which they were to be guided, not by the known rules of law, but by their own discretion; and they declared, that even the scanty experience which already they had obtained of the dispositions of these persons, was sufficient to assure them that the powers conferred by the commission would be employed to the complete subversion of the provincial constitution. If any advantage was expected from the imposition of new rules and the infringement of their liberties, the design, they protested, would produce only dis-

Petition of
 the as-
 sembly of
 Massachu-
 setts to the
 king—

appointment to its promoters; for the country was so poor, CHAP.
 that it afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its in-
 habitants, and the people were so much attached to their IV.
 institutions that, if deprived of them in America, they would 1664.
 seek them in new and more distant habitations; and, if
 they were driven out of their present territory, it would not
 be easy to find another race of inhabitants who would be will-
 ing to sojourn in it.¹ They appealed to God, that they
 came not into this wilderness to seek great things for them-
 selves, but for the sake of a quiet life; and concluded in the
 following strains of earnest anxiety:—"Let our government
 live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and
 liberties live, our religious enjoyments live: so shall we all yet
 have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live
 for ever." Letters suing for favour and friendly mediation
 were addressed at the same time to several of the English
 nobility, and particularly to the chancellor, Lord Clarendon.
 But these applications were totally unsuccessful. Clarendon
 was no friend to puritan establishments: he had instigated
 the actually existing persecution against sectaries of
 every denomination in England; and he was at present too
 painfully sensible of his declining credit with the king, to risk
 the farther provocation of his displeasure by opposing a fa-
 vourite scheme of royal policy. In a letter to the governor,
 he defended the commission as a constitutional exercise of
 royal power and wisdom, and strongly indicative of his ma-
 jesty's grace and goodness; and recommended to the colo-
 nists, by a prompt submission, to deprecate the consequences
 of that indignation which their ungrateful clamour must al-
 ready have excited in the breast of the king. The answer of
 Charles, which was transmitted by Secretary Morrice, to the
 petition of the general court, excited less surprise. It re-
 proached this assembly with making unreasonable and ground-
 less complaints; justified the commission as the only proper
 method of rectifying the provincial disorders; and affected to

Rejected.

¹ It is curious to observe the expression of a similar sentiment by the inhabitants of the province of Arragon in the days of their freedom. It is declared in the preamble to one of the laws of Arragon, that such was the barrenness of the country, that if it were not for the sake of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it, and repair in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region.—Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth.

B O O K consider the petition as “the contrivance of a few persons
 11. who infuse jealousies into their fellow-subjects as if their
 1664. charter were in danger.”¹

1665. No sooner was the conquest of New York completed,² than the commissioners addressed themselves to the discharge of their civil functions in New England. One of the first official acts that they had occasion to perform, was the adjustment of a dispute respecting boundaries, that arose out of the occupation of New York. A patent had been granted to the Duke of York, of all the territory occupied or claimed by the Dutch, including large districts that had been already comprehended in the charter of Connecticut. A controversy concerning limits had thus been created by the act of the crown, between the state of Connecticut and the new province designated by the patent of the Duke of York. Their boundaries were now adjusted by the commissioners in a manner which appears to have been highly satisfactory to the people of Connecticut, but which entailed a great deal of subsequent dispute. Another controversy, in which Connecticut was involved, arose out of a claim to part of its territory preferred by the Duke of Hamilton, and other persons, in virtue of rights that had accrued to themselves or their ancestors as members of the grand council of Plymouth. The commissioners, desirous of giving satisfaction to both parties, adjudged the property of the disputed soil to these individual claimants, but declared the power of government to pertain to Connecticut. It appears manifestly to have been their policy to detach the other New England states from the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, and to procure their co-operation (by the example of implicit submission on their own part, and the accumulation of complaints against this province,) in the design of abridging her liberties and altering her institutions. In the prosecution of this policy they were but partially successful. The people of Connecticut received the commissioners with frigid respect, and plainly showed that they disliked their mission, and regarded the cause of Massachusetts as their own. Nay, so strongly were they impressed with the danger to their liberties from the interposition of such arbitrary power, that some dis-

Policy pursued by the commissioners.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

² See Book V. chap. i. *post*.

agreements, which had subsisted between Connecticut and Newhaven, and which had hitherto prevented their union in conformity with the recent charter, were entirely composed by the very tidings of the approach of the commissioners. At Plymouth the commissioners met with little opposition; the inhabitants being deterred from the expression of their sentiments by a consciousness of their weakness, and being exempted from the apprehensions that prevailed in the provinces of greater consideration by a sense of their insignificance. In Rhode Island alone was their insidious policy attended with success. There, the people received them with studious deference and submission; their inquiries were answered, and their mandates obeyed or assented to without any demur to the authority from which they emanated: and during their stay in this settlement they were enabled to amplify their reports with numberless complaints against the injustice and misgovernment alleged to have been committed in Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, as we have seen, had gained their late charter by a display of subservience and devotion to the crown; and the liberal institutions which it introduced had not yet had time to form a spirit that disdained to hold the enjoyment of liberty by so ignoble a tenure. The freedom thus spuriously begotten was tainted in its birth by principles that long rendered its existence precarious; and we shall find these colonists, a few years after, abjectly proposing to strip themselves of the rights which they had gained so ill, and of which they now showed themselves unworthy, by their willingness to co-operate in attacking the liberties of Massachusetts. We must not, however, discard from our recollection that Rhode Island was yet but a feeble community, and that the unfavourable sentiments with which many of its inhabitants regarded Massachusetts, arose from the persecution which their religious tenets had experienced in this province. Their conduct to the commissioners received the warmest approbation from Charles, who assured them that he would never be unmindful of the claims they had acquired on his goodness by a demeanour so replete with duty and humility.¹ In justice to the king, whose word

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

BOOK
II.

1665.

was proverbially the object of very little reliance, we may observe that he does not appear ever after to have withdrawn his favour from Rhode Island ; and in justice to a moral lesson that would be otherwise incomplete, we may here so far transgress the pace of time as to remark, that when Charles's successor extended to Rhode Island the same tyrannical system which he introduced into the other New England provinces, and when the people endeavoured to avert the blow by a repetition of the abjectness that had formerly availed them, their prostration was disregarded, and their complete subjugation pursued and accomplished with an insolence that forcibly taught them to detest oppression and despise servility.

It was in Massachusetts that the commission was expected to produce its most important effects; and from the difference between the views and opinions entertained by the English government and the provincial authorities, it was undoubtedly foreseen that the proceedings of the commissioners would provoke the most resolute opposition. Among other communications which the commissioners were charged to convey to the colonists, was, that the king considered them to stand in precisely the same relation to him as the inhabitants of Kent or Yorkshire in England. Very different was the opinion which the colonists themselves entertained. They considered that, having been forced by persecution to depart from the realm of England, and having established themselves by their own unassisted efforts in territories which they had purchased from the original proprietors, they retained no other political connexion with their sovereign than what was created by their charter, which they regarded as the sole existing compact between the English crown and themselves, and as defining all the particulars and limits of their obedience. The acknowledged difference of sentiment in religion and politics between themselves and their ancient rulers, in which their settlement had originated, and the habits of self-government that they had long been enabled to indulge, confirmed these prepossessions, and had tended generally and deeply to impress the conviction that their primitive allegiance as natives of England and subjects of the British crown was entirely dissolved, and superseded by the stipulations which

they had voluntarily contracted by accepting their charter. CHAP. IV.
 Such opinions, though strongly cherished, it was not prudent
 distinctly to profess; but their prevalence is attested by a
 respectable provincial historian, on the authority of certain
 manuscript compositions of the leading persons in Massa-
 chusetts at this period, which he had an opportunity of
 perusing. The colonists were not the less attached to these
 notions, from the apprehension that they would find as little
 favour in the eyes of the English government as the tenets
 which had led to the persecution and emigration of their an-
 cestors: they were indeed quite repugnant to the principles
 of the English law, which holds the allegiance of subjects to
 their sovereign, not as a local or provincial, but as a perpetual
 and indissoluble tie, which distance of place does not sunder,
 nor lapse of time relax. Forcibly aware of these differences
 of opinion, of the dangerous collisions which might result from
 them, and of the disadvantage with which they must conduct
 a discussion with persons who sought nothing so much as to
 find or make them offenders, the colonists awaited, with much
 anxiety, the return of the commissioners to Boston.¹

The character and disposition of these commissioners in-
 creased the probability of an unfriendly issue to their discus-
 sions with the provincial authorities. If conciliation was, as
 the king professed, the object which he had in view in in-
 stituting the commission, he was singularly unfortunate in
 the selection of the instruments to whom the discharge of its
 important duties was confided. Nichols, indeed, was a man
 of honour, good sense, and ability; but it was mainly for the
 reduction and subsequent governance of New York, that he
 had been appointed to accompany the expedition: he remained
 at that place after its capitulation; and when he afterwards
 rejoined his colleagues, he found himself unable to control
 their conduct, or repair the breach which they had already
 occasioned. The other commissioners appear to have been
 utterly destitute of the temper,² sense, and address which

¹ Hutchinson.

² The senselessness of their conduct is strongly illustrated by a case related at considerable length by the provincial historians. They had been drinking one Saturday night in a tavern after the hours when, by the provincial laws, all taverns were ordered to be shut. A constable, who warned them not to infringe the law, was

BOOK
II.

1665.
April.

Their dis-
putes with
the govern-
ment of
Massachu-
setts—

their office demanded; and Maverick added to these defects an inveterate hostility to the colony which had induced him for years to solicit the functions which he now hastened to execute with malignant satisfaction. On their return to Boston, the very first communication which they addressed to the governor demonstrated the slight respect they entertained for the provincial authorities; for they required that all the inhabitants of the province should be assembled to receive and reply to their communication; and when the governor desired to know the cause of this requisition, they answered, "that the motion was so reasonable, that he who would not attend to it was a traitor." Perceiving, however, that this violent language served rather to confirm the suspicions than to shake the resolution of the provincial magistrates, they condescended for a while to adopt a more conciliating tone, and informed the general court that they had favourably represented to the king the promptness with which his commands had been obeyed in the equipment of a provincial regiment: but it was soon ascertained that they had actually transmitted a representation of perfectly opposite import. The suspicions which the commissioners and the general court reciprocally entertained of each other, prevented, from the very first, any cordial co-operation between them. The communications of the commissioners display the most lofty ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, with a preconceived opinion that there was an indisposition on the part of the general court to pay due respect to that authority, as well as to the source from which it was derived. The answers of the general court manifest an anxious desire to avoid a quarrel with the king, and to gratify his Majesty by professions of loyalty and submission, and by every municipal change that seemed likely to meet his wishes, without compromising the fundamental principles of their peculiar polity.

beaten by them. Hearing that Mason, another constable, had declared that *he* would not have been deterred by their violence from doing his duty, they sent for him, and extorted from him an admission that he would have arrested the king himself if he had found him drinking in a public-house after lawful hours. They insisted that he should be tried for high treason, and actually prevailed to have this injustice committed. The jury returned a special verdict; and the court, considering the words offensive and insolent, but not treasonable, inflicted only a slight punishment. Hutchinson.

They expressed, at the same time, a deliberate conviction of C H A P.
 having done nothing that merited displeasure or required apo- IV.
 logy, and a steady determination to abide by the charter. The 1665.
 correspondence gradually degenerated into an altercation. At length, the commissioners demanded from the court an explicit answer to the question, if they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's commission? but the court desired to be excused from giving any other answer, than that they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's charter, with which they were much better acquainted. Finding that their object was not to be gained by threats or expostulations, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their pretensions: they granted letters of protection to persons who were prosecuted before the provincial tribunals; and in a civil suit, which had been already determined by the provincial judges, they promoted an appeal to themselves from the unsuccessful party, and summoned him and his adversary to plead their cause before them. The general court, apprised of this step, perceived that they must now or never make a stand in defence of their authority; and, with a decision which showed the high value they entertained for their privileges, and the vigour with which they were prepared to guard them, they publicly proclaimed their disapprobation of this measure, and declared that, in discharge of their duty to God and the king, and in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them by the king's good subjects in the colony, they must protest against the proceedings of the commissioners, and disclaim friendship with all who would countenance or abet them. They accompanied this vigorous demonstration with an offer to compromise the dispute by hearing the cause themselves in presence of the commissioners; but this proposition was scornfully rejected, and every effort to establish harmony between these conflicting authorities proved unavailing.

Suspending for a time their operations at Boston, the commissioners repaired to New Hampshire and Maine; and instantly pronouncing sentence in favour of the claims of Mason and Gorges against the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a new system of government in each of those provinces. On their return to Boston, the general court declared that these mea-

B O O K
II.
1665. sures tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference with the commissioners, which was refused with an asperity of reproach that put an end to all farther communication. Sir Robert Carr even went the length of assuring the general court that the king's pardon for their manifold treasons during the civil war had been merely conditional, and was now forfeited by their evil behaviour; and that the contrivers of their late measures would speedily endure the same punishment which their associates in rebellion had recently experienced in England.

1666. The king having been apprised of these transactions, and assured by the commissioners that it was fruitless for them to prolong a discussion with persons who were determined to misconstrue all their words and actions, issued letters, recalling these functionaries to England, expressing his satisfaction with the conduct of all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanding the general court of this province to send deputies to answer in his presence the charges preferred against their countrymen. But the inhabitants of Massachusetts were aware that in such a controversy they had not the most remote chance of success, and that it was not by resonable pleas, or the cogency of argument that they could hope to pacify the displeasure of their sovereign. Instead of complying with his injunction, the general court addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which they hinted real or pretended doubts of the authenticity of the royal mandate, and declared that their cause had already been so plainly and minutely unfolded, that the ablest among them would be utterly unable to render it any clearer. At the same time they endeavoured to appease his majesty by humble addresses expressive of their loyalty; and in order to demonstrate the sense they attached to these professions, they purchased a ship-load of masts, which they presented to the king; and learning that his fleet in the West Indies was distressed by want of provisions, they promoted a contribution among themselves, and victualled it at their own expense. Charles accepted their presents very graciously; and a letter under the sign manual having been transmitted to the general court, declaring that their zeal for the royal service was "taken well by his majesty," the cloud that had gathered over the colony in this quarter seemed for the pre-

and return
to Eng-
land.

Policy of
the colo-
nists to
conciliate
the king—

effects of it.

sent to be dispersed.¹ Nevertheless, the design that had been so far pursued, of remodelling the institutions of New England, was by no means abandoned. The report of the commissioners had furnished Charles with the very pretexts that were wanting to the accomplishment of his plans: and the measures which he embraced at a later period, demonstrated that it was not the dutiful professions or liberalities of the colonists that would deter him from availing himself of the advantages which he had made such efforts to obtain. But the dreadful affliction of the plague which broke out with such violence as in one year to destroy ninety thousand of the inhabitants of London, and to banish for a time the seat of government to Oxford—the great fire of London²—the wars and intrigues on the continent of Europe,—and the rising discontents of the people of Britain, so forcibly engaged the attention of the king, as to suspend, for a while, the execution of his designs against the institutions of New England.

After the departure of the royal commissioners, the provinces of New England enjoyed for some years a quiet and prosperous condition. The only disturbance which their internal tranquillity sustained, arose from the persecutions which in all the states, except Rhode Island, continued to be waged against the anabaptists, as these sectaries, from time to time, attracted attention by attempting to propagate their tenets. Letters were written in their behalf to the provincial magistrates by the most eminent dissenting ministers in England: but though it was strongly urged by the writers of these let-

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

² A liberal contribution was made by the people of Massachusetts, and transmitted to London for relief of the sufferers by the fire. Hutchinson. The people of New England have always been honourably distinguished by their charitable participation of the misfortunes of other communities. In the year 1703, they contributed 2,000*l.* for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christophers, which had been ravaged by the French. Holmes. In the same year they had an opportunity of showing that their hands were as ready to repel the danger as to relieve the calamities of their friends. The planters of Jamaica having besought the assistance of New England to repel an invasion that was apprehended from the French, two regiments were promptly embodied and despatched for this purpose to Jamaica, where they remained two years. Oldmixon (2d edit.) Military aid was not the only benefit which the West India planters derived from New England, which appears frequently to have supplied them, at their request, with ministers of religion. Holmes. Of the generous exertions of the New Englanders, both for the instruction and defence of the colonists of Carolina, some notice will be found in Book IV. chap. ii. and Book VIII. chap. ii. *post.*

BOOK

II.

1666.

1667.

Cession of
Acadie to
the French.

ters, that the severe persecution which the anabaptists were then enduring in the parent state should recommend them to the sympathy of the colonists, and that their conversion was more likely to be accomplished by exemplifying to them the peaceable fruits of righteousness than by attacking their doctrinal errors with penal inflictions, which could have no other effect than to render them martyrs or hypocrites; the intercession, though respectfully received, was completely unavailing. The provincial authorities persisted in believing that they were doing God service by employing the civil power with which they were invested, to guard their territories from the intrusion of heresy, and to maintain the purity of those religious principles for the culture and preservation of which their settlements had been originally founded. A considerable number of anabaptists were fined, imprisoned, and banished: and persecution produced its usual effect of confirming the sentiments and propagating the tenets which it sought to extirpate, by causing their professors to connect them in their own minds, and to exhibit them to others in connection with suffering for conscience sake. These proceedings, however, contributed more to stain the character of the colonists than to disturb their tranquillity. Much greater disquiet was created by the intelligence of the cession of Acadie, or, as it was now generally termed, *Nova Scotia*, to the French by the treaty of Breda. Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England than the conquest of that province by Cromwell; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, apprised of the extreme solicitude of the French to regain it, and justly regarding such an issue as pregnant with mischief and danger to themselves, sent agents to England to remonstrate against it. But the influence of France prevailed with the British monarch, over the interest of his people; and the conduct of Charles on this occasion, betrayed as much indifference for the external security of the colonies, as his previous measures had disclosed for their domestic liberties. The French regained possession of their ancient settlement: and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and ambitious neighbour, who for a long course of time exerted her peculiar arts of intrigue to

interrupt the pursuits and disturb the repose of the British C H A P. colonists.¹ IV.

The system of government that prevailed in Massachusetts coincided with the sentiments of a great majority of the people; and even those acts of municipal administration that imposed restraints on civil liberty were revered on account of their manifest design, and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than civil liberty itself. A printing-press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the general court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any book or other composition that had not received their censorial approbation. The licensers having sanctioned the publication of Thomas à Kempis' admirable treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, and, declaring that "the book was written by a popish minister, and contained some things less safe to be infused among the people," recommended a more diligent revisal to the licensers, and in the meantime suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, a measure of this nature would have been regarded as an outrage upon liberty. But the government of Massachusetts expressed, and was supported by, the sentiments and opinions of the people; and so generally respected was its administration, that the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine, rejecting the constitution which they had received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction. All traces of the visitation of these commissioners having been thus effaced, and the apprehensions that their measures had excited, forgotten, the affairs of the New England colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity.² The navigation act

1667.

1668.

Prosperous
state of
New Eng-
land.

¹ Neal. Chalmers.

² In the year 1672, the laws of Connecticut (till then preserved in manuscript, and promulgated by oral proclamation) were collected into a code, printed, and published. The preface, written with great solemnity, commences in this manner:—"To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the general court of that colony wish grace and peace in our Lord Jesus." It was ordered that every householder should have a copy of the code, and should read it weekly to his family. Trumbull. The legislators of Connecticut seem to have thought, like Agesilaus, that the duties of a citizen should form part of the earliest education of a child.

In Connecticut, by a law of 1667 (still subsisting), three years' voluntary separa-

BOOK not being aided by the establishment of an efficient custom-
 11. house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually
 1668—elected by their own fellow-citizens, was completely disregarded.
 1672. The people enjoyed a commerce practically unrestricted: a
 consequent increase of wealth was visible among the mer-
 chants and farmers; and habits of industry and economy
 continuing to prevail with unabated force, the plantations
 underwent a progressive improvement, and many new settle-
 ments arose. From a document preserved in the archives
 of the colonial office of London, and published by Chalmers,
 1673. it appears, that in the year 1673, New England was esti-
 mated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of
 whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms; and of
 the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thou-
 sand persons, each of whom was worth 3000/.¹ Three-fourths
 of the wealth and population of the country centred in the ter-
 ritory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of
 Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was
 rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who
 returned about two years before this period from his second
 visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeable-
 ness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Conne-
 cticut, and the substantial structure and interior comfort of
 all the private dwellings.² During this interval of tranquil
 prosperity, many of the more aged inhabitants of New Eng-
 land closed the career of a long and eventful life; and
 the original race of settlers was now almost entirely ex-
 tinguished. The annals of this period are filled with
 accounts of their deaths,—of the virtues by which they
 had contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth;
 and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered
 upon its flourishing estate. To our retrospective view, en-

tion of married persons is held to dissolve their matrimonial engagement. It is strange that a law departing so widely from the injunctions of scripture, should have gained admission into the codes of Scotland and of New England,—two countries long distinguished above all others by the general and zealous desire of their people to harmonize their municipal institutions with the canons of scripture.

¹ John Dunton, who visited New England about twelve years after this period, mentions a merchant in Salem worth 30,000/.—Dunton's Life and Errors.

² Josselyn's Second Voyage. Even at this early period Josselyn has remarked the prevalence of that inveterate but unexplained peculiarity, of the premature decay of the teeth of white persons, and especially women, in North America.

larged by the knowledge which history supplies of the im- CHAP.
 pending calamities from which these persons were thus sea- IV.
 sonably removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their 1673.
 lot appears to have been that they died in scenes so fraught
 with serene enjoyment and agreeable promise, and bequeathed
 to their descendants at once the bright example of their virtue,
 and the substantial fruits of it, in a singularly happy and
 prosperous condition. Yet, so short-sighted and fallacious
 are the prospects of men,—so strongly are they led by an in-
 stinctive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire
 something better than they behold,—and so apt to restrict to
 the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of
 this secret longing after original and immortal perfection,—
 that many of the fathers of the colony, even when, full of
 days and honour, they beheld their latter end crowned with
 peace, could not refrain from lamenting that they had been
 born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New
 England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom
 and piety, remembered the scriptural declaration that *the eye*
is not satisfied with seeing; acknowledged that the conceptions
 of an immortal spirit are incapable of being adequately filled
 by any thing short of the vision of its Divine Author, for
 whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to
 drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, and
 resign to a succeeding race the enjoyment and promotion of
 her glory, in the confidence of renovated existence in scenes
 of more elevated and durable felicity.¹

The state of prosperous repose which New England had 1674.
 enjoyed for several years was interrupted by a general con- Conspi-
 spiracy of the Indian tribes, that produced a war so bloody racy of the
 and formidable as to threaten for some time the utter destruc- Indians.
 tion of all the settlements. This hostile combination was
 promoted by a young chief whose history reminds us of the
 exploits of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second
 son of Massassoiet, a prince who had ruled a powerful tribe
 inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth
 at the time when the English first occupied the country. The
 father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and,
 after his death, his two sons expressed an earnest desire to

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Neal.

B O O K

II.

1674.

to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even requested of the magistrates of Plymouth, as a mark of identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder had received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But these expressions of good will had been prompted entirely by the artifice that regulated their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly after detected and disappointed in a treacherous attempt to involve the Naragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The haughty spirit of the elder brother was overwhelmed by this disgrace. Unable to brook the detection and discomfiture of his perfidy, and perhaps resenting the generous clemency of the colonists as an aggravation of his infamy, he abandoned himself to despair, and died of the corrosion of rage and mortification. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English; but intended nothing less than the fulfilment of his engagements. Subtle, yet fierce, artful and dissembling, yet stern in adventurous purpose and relentless cruelty, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years pursued this design as secretly and successfully as the numerous difficulties that surrounded him would permit. Next to the growing power of the European settlers, nothing seemed to excite his indignation more strongly than the progress of their missionary labours; and, in reality, it was to these labours, and some of the consequences they had produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied, revealed his propositions to the missionaries; and several Indians who had embraced his schemes were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. The magistrates of Plymouth had frequently remonstrated with him on the dishonour he incurred and the danger he provoked by the perfidious machinations of which from time to time they obtained information; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he had endeavoured to disarm their vigilance and allay their apprehension. For two or three years before the present period, he had pursued his hostile projects with such successful duplicity as to elude

discovery and even suspicion; and had now succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most powerful of the Indian tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.

A converted Indian, who was labouring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon after found dead in a field, with appearances that strongly betokened assassination. Some neighbouring Indians, suspected of being the perpetrators of this crime, were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution one of the convicts confessed the murder,—declaring, withal, that its commission had been planned and instigated by Philip: and this crafty chief, alarmed at the dangerous disclosure, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut took arms for their common defence,—having first employed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a bloodless issue was not what Philip desired; and being now fully assured that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war, which was carried on with great vigour and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable body, conducted by a chief who was persuaded that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians had been hitherto supposed incapable. Several battles were fought, and all the fury, havoc, and cruelty which distinguish Indian warfare were experienced in their fullest extent. Wherever the enemy marched, their route was marked with slaughter, fire, and desolation. Massachusetts and Plymouth were the states that suffered principally from the contest. There, especially, the Indians were so mingled with the European colonists that there was scarcely a part of the country which was not exposed to danger, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relative or friend. It is a

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IV.
1674.

1675.
Philip's
war.

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II.

1675.

truth that has not been sufficiently adverted to, that in all the Indian wars of this period, the savages, from the condition of the country, their own superior acquaintance with it, and their peculiar habits of life, and qualities of body and mind, enjoyed advantages which well nigh counterbalanced the superiority of European skill. They seemed to unite the instinct and ferocity of the brutal creation, with the art and sagacity of rational beings. Changing their own encampments with facility, and advancing upon those of the colonists with the dexterous secrecy of beasts of prey, – with them there was almost always the spirit and audacity of attack, and with their adversaries the disadvantages of defence and the consternation produced by surprise; nor could the colonists obtain the means of attacking in their turn without following the savages into forests and swamps, where the benefit of their higher martial qualities was lost, and the system of European warfare rendered impracticable. The savages had long been acquainted with fire-arms, and were remarkably expert in the use of them.

For some time the incursions of the enemy could not be restrained; and every enterprise or skirmish in which they reaped the slightest credit or advantage, increased the number of their allies. The savage artifice, however, which Philip employed in one instance for the purpose of recruiting his forces, recoiled with merited injury on himself. Resorting with some of his adherents to the territory of a neutral tribe, he caused certain of the people who belonged to it to be surprised and assassinated; and then repairing to the head quarters of the tribe, he declared that he had seen the murder committed by a party of the Plymouth soldiers. The tribe in a flame of rage declared war on the colonists: but their vindictive sentiments soon took another direction; for one of the wounded men having recovered his senses, made a shift to crawl to the habitations of his countrymen, and, though mortally injured, was able to disclose the real author of the tragedy before he died. Revoking their former purpose, the tribe thereupon declared war on Philip, and espoused the cause of his enemies. Hostilities were protracted till near the close of the following year, when, at length, the steady efforts and invincible courage of the colonists prevailed; and

after a series of defeats, and the loss of all his family and chief counsellors, Philip himself was killed by one of his own tribe whom he had offended. Deprived of its chief abettor, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the enemy. From certain of the tribes, however, the colonists refused to accept any submissions, and warned them before their surrender that their treachery had been so gross and unprovoked, and their outrages so atrocious and unpardonable, that they must abide the award of criminal justice. In pursuance of these declarations, some of the chiefs were tried and executed for murder; and a number of their followers were transported to the West Indies, and sold for slaves. Never before had the people of New England been engaged in a warfare so fierce, so bloody, or so desolating. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes; and in the course of the war six hundred persons of European birth or descent, composing the flower and strength of several of the districts, either fell in battle, were massacred in their dwellings, or expired beneath the tortures inflicted by the savages on their captives. The military efforts of the colonists in these campaigns were thought, and justly, perhaps, to disclose less of tactical skill than had been displayed in the Pequod war. They were indeed no longer commanded by the experienced officers who had accompanied their ancestors from Europe; and they were opposed to an enemy much more formidable than the Pequods. But the calm determined courage that they manifested, was worthy of men whose characters were formed under institutions no less favourable to freedom than virtue, and who fought in defence of all they held dear and valuable. Among other officers, Captain Church of Massachusetts, and Captain Denison of Connecticut have been particularly celebrated by the provincial historians for their heroic ardour and fortitude. In the commencement of the war, the surprising treachery practised by the hostile Indians, excited strong apprehensions of the defection of the Indian congregations which the missionaries had collected and partly civilized. But not one of these people proved unfaithful to their benefactors.¹

CHAP.
IV.
1676.
August.

The Indian warfare by which New England had been deso-

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. See Note XI. at the end of the volume.

BOOK

II.

1676.

lated during this period, was not bounded by the hostilities of Philip and his confederates. An attack was made at the same time on New Hampshire and Maine, by the tribes that were situated in the vicinity of these settlements. The Indians complained that they had been defrauded and insulted by some of the English traders in that quarter:¹ but strong suspicions were entertained that their hostilities were promoted by the French government, now re-established in Acadie. The invasion of those territories was distinguished by the usual guile, ferocity, and cruelty of the savages. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others carried into captivity. Prompt assistance was rendered to her allies by Massachusetts; and after a variety of severe engagements, the Indians sustained a considerable defeat. They were, however, still able and willing to continue the war; and both their numbers and their animosity were increased by a measure which the provincial government adopted against them. It was proposed to the general court of Massachusetts to invite the Mohawk tribe, who, from time immemorial, had been the enemies of the eastern Indians, to make a descent on their territories at this juncture. The lawfulness of using such auxiliaries was questioned by some; but it was thought a satisfactory answer to the objection, that Abraham had confederated with the Amorites for the recovery of his kinsman Lot from the hands of a common enemy; and messengers were accordingly despatched to solicit the co-operation of the Mohawks. Little entreaty was necessary to induce them to comply with the invitation: and a body of Mohawk warriors quickly marched against their hereditary foes. The expedition, however, so far from producing the slightest benefit, was attended with serious

¹ One of these complaints was occasioned by the brutal act of some English sailors in overturning an Indian canoe in which they observed an infant child, in order to ascertain the truth of a story they had heard, that swimming was as natural to a young Indian as to a young duck. The child died in consequence of the immersion; and its father, who was highly respected as a necromancer by the Indians, became the inveterate enemy of the English. Belknap. An action that excited still greater resentment was committed by Major Waldron, of New Hampshire, during the war. He had made a treaty of friendship with a body of 400 Indians: but on discovering that some of them had served in Philip's army, he laid hold of these by a stratagem and sent them as prisoners to Boston. Their associates never forgave this breach of compact; and thirteen years after, a party of them having surprised the major in his house by a stratagem still more artful than his own, put him to death by the most horrible inflictions of cruelty. Ibid.

disadvantage to the cause of the colonists. The Indians, who were their proper enemies, suffered very little from the Mohawk invasion; and some powerful tribes, who had been hitherto at peace with the colonists, exasperated by injuries or affronts which they received from those invaders, now declared war both against them and their English allies. At length, the intelligence of the defeat of Philip, and the probability of stronger forces being thus enabled to march against them, inclined the eastern Indians to hearken to proposals of peace. The war in this quarter was terminated by a treaty highly favourable to the Indians, to whom the colonists became bound to pay a certain quantity of corn yearly as a quit-rent for their lands.¹

C H A P.
IV.
1676.

Although the neighbouring province of New York was now a British settlement, no assistance was obtained from it by the New England states in this long and obstinate conflict with the Indians. On the contrary, a hostile demonstration from that quarter had been added to the dangers of the Indian war. Andros, who was then governor of the newly acquired province, having claimed for the Duke of York a considerable tract of land really forming part of the Connecticut territory, asserted the denied pretension of his master by advancing with an armament against the town and fort of Saybrook, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants, though at first alarmed to behold the English flag unfurled against them, quickly recovered from their surprise; and hoisting the same flag on their walls, prepared to defend themselves against the assailants. Andros, who had not anticipated such resolute opposition, hesitated to fire upon the English flag; and, learning that Captain Bull, an officer of distinguished bravery and determination, had marched with a party of the Connecticut militia for the defence of the place, judged it expedient to abandon his enterprise and return to New York.²

The suspension of the Indian hostilities was not attended

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Belknap's History of New Hampshire, are the best of the modern historical productions of North America. Trumbull's History of Connecticut is a more elaborate performance than either of them: but this author unfortunately has encumbered his work with a chronicle of parochial settlements and petty details, and bestowed a most disproportioned attention on the biography of the clergy and the transactions of ecclesiastical synods.

² Trumbull.

B O O K
II.

1676.
The king
resumes
his designs
against
Massachu-
setts.

with a restoration of the happiness and tranquillity which they had interrupted. The king had now matured the scheme of arbitrary government, which he steadily pursued during the remainder of his inglorious reign; and the colonists, while yet afflicted with the smart of their recent calamities, were summoned to abide a repetition of their ancient controversies with the crown, which they had vainly hoped were forgotten or abandoned by the English government.¹ Instead of approbation for the bravery and the manly reliance on their own resources with which they had conducted their military operations, and repelled hostilities partly occasioned by the disregard which the mother country had shown for their interests in restoring Acadie to the French,—they found themselves overwhelmed with reproaches for a seditious obstinacy in refusing to solicit assistance from the king, and a sordid parsimony in the equipment of their levies, which (the British court declared) had caused the war to be so greatly protracted, and rendered them utterly unfit to be longer intrusted with the government of a country in which their sovereign possessed so large a stake. Indications of the revival of royal dislike and of the resumption of the king's former designs had occurred before the conclusion of the war with Philip. While hostilities were still raging in the province, the government of Massachusetts found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine. In the summer of 1676, Randolph, a messenger despatched by the king, announced to the general court that a judgment would be pronounced by his majesty in council against the pretensions of the province, unless, within six months, deputies were sent to plead in its favour; and as letters were received at the same time from the friends of the colonists in England, giving assurance that the king was determined to fulfil his threat, and that any instance of contumacy on the part of the provincial government would but accelerate the execution of more formidable designs on which the English court was deliberating, the royal message received immediate attention, and Stoughton and Bulkeley were de-

¹ See Note XII. at the end of the volume.

spatched as deputies to represent and support the interests of C H A P.
Massachusetts.¹ IV.

The respective titles and claims of the parties having been submitted to the consideration of the two chief justices of England, the legal merits of the question were soon extracted by their experienced eyes from the confused mass of inconsistent grants in which they had been involved. It was adjudged that municipal jurisdiction in New Hampshire was incapable of being validly conveyed by the council of Plymouth, and had therefore reverted to the crown on the dissolution of the council, with reservation, however, of Mason's claims upon the property of the soil,—a reservation which for many years rendered all the property in New Hampshire insecure, and involved the inhabitants in continual inquietude, dispute, and litigation. As Gorges, in addition to his original grant from the Plymouth council, had procured a royal patent for the province of Maine, the entire property both seignorial and territorial of this province was adjudged to be vested in him. In consequence of this decision, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in the province of Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of Maine, which he designed to unite with New Hampshire, and to bestow on his natural son the Duke of Monmouth; but, straitened for money, and expecting no competitor in the purchase, he had deferred the completion of the contract. The government of Massachusetts, aware of this, and urgently solicited by the inhabitants of Maine to prevent their territories from being dismembered from its jurisdiction, directed its agent to purchase the title of Gorges, which he very willingly agreed to sell for twelve hundred pounds. This transaction gave great offence to the king, who peremptorily insisted that the authorities of Massachusetts should wave their title and relinquish the acquisition to him: but they firmly declined to gratify him by such compliance, and maintained that their conduct needed no other justification than

1677.
Controversy
respecting
the right
to Maine
and New
Hamp-
shire.

¹ Hutchinson.

BOOK

II.

1677.

its conformity to the wishes of the people of Maine. The inhabitants of New Hampshire were no less reluctant to be separated from Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit, and to receive a royal governor.¹ One of the first acts of their legislature was to vote a grateful address to Massachusetts, acknowledging the former kindness of this colony, and protesting that only the commands of the king had now interrupted a connexion which it was their anxious desire to have preserved. The government that had been thrust upon them proved incapable of preserving tranquillity or commanding respect. The attempts that were made to enforce Mason's title to the property of the soil, and to render the inhabitants tributary to him for the possessions which they had purchased from others and improved by their own labour, excited the most violent ferments, and resulted in a train of vexatious but indecisive legal warfare.² Cranfield, the governor, after involving himself in controversies and altercations with the planters and their legislative assembly, in which he was continually foiled, transmitted an assurance to the British government, "that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found in those parts." He wreaked his vengeance upon some nonconformist ministers, to whose eloquence he imputed the resolute spirit of the people, and whose general denunciations against vice he construed into personal reflections on himself and his favourites,—by arbitrarily commanding them to administer the sacrament to him according to the liturgy of the church of England, and committing them to prison on receiving the refusal which he expected. His misgovernment at length provoked a few rash individuals hastily, and without concert, to revolt against his

¹ In the first commission that was issued for the government of this province, the king engaged to continue to the people their ancient privilege of an assembly "unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." Belknap.

² The people were sometimes provoked to oppose what they termed *swamp law* to parchment law. An irregular judgment having been pronounced in favour of Mason, against some persons who refused to submit to it, the governor sent a party of sheriff's officers to serve a writ on them while they were in church. The congregation was incensed at this proceeding; a young woman knocked down a sheriff's officer with her bible; and the attack becoming general, the whole legal army was routed. It was found necessary to abandon the judgment.—Belknap.

authority. The insurrection was suppressed without the slightest difficulty; and the insurgents having been arraigned of high treason, were convicted and condemned to die. But Cranfield, conscious of the unpopularity of his government, had exercised an unfair and illegal control in the selection of the jury, which excited universal indignation: and afraid to carry his sentence into effect within the colony, he adopted the strange and unwarrantable proceeding of sending the prisoners to be executed in England. The English government actually sanctioned this irregularity, and were preparing to execute the sentence of a provincial magistrate, and to exhibit to the people of England the tragical issue of a trial, with the merits of which they were totally unacquainted, when a pardon was obtained for the unfortunate persons, by the solicitation of Cranfield himself, who, finding it impracticable to maintain order in the province, or to withstand the numerous complaints of his injustice and oppression, had solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire spontaneously reverted to the government of Massachusetts, and shared her fortunes till the period of the British revolution.¹

Although the troubles of the *Popish Plot* began now to engage and perplex the mind of the king, he was no longer to be diverted from his purpose of attempting the subjugation of Massachusetts; and though the concern of the Duke of Monmouth with that celebrated imposture and the connexions he had formed with the profligate Shaftesbury and its other promoters, might diminish the king's regret for the privation of the appanage which he had meant to bestow on him, yet the presumptuous interference of Massachusetts to defeat this transaction had highly inflamed his displeasure and fortified his tyrannical resolution. That additional pretexts might not be wanting to justify his measures, every complaint that could be collected against the colony was promoted and encouraged. The quakers who had refused, during the Indian war, either

CHAP.
IV.
1677.

1678.

Progress of
the dispute
between
the king
and the
colony.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Belknap. These events, and the particular history of New Hampshire at this period, are related in considerable detail, with every appearance of accuracy, and with much spirit, good sense, and liberality, by Dr. Belknap. It is to this author's History of New Hampshire that I refer, wherever his "American Biography" (the very inappropriate title of a valuable work) is not expressly mentioned.

B O O K to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed on defaulters, complained bitterly of the *persecution* they had incurred by the exaction of those fines, as well as of the law which obliged them to contribute to the maintenance of the provincial clergy. When the dangers of the Indian war were at their height, some of the colonists apprehending that these calamities were a judgment of Heaven upon the land for harbouring such heretics as the quakers within its bosom, procured the re-enactment of an old law, prohibiting assemblies for quaker worship; and though it does not appear that this law was executed, its promulgation was justly regarded as persecution, and alienated the regards of many persons who had hitherto been friends of the colony. The agents who had been deputed to defend the interests of Massachusetts in the controversies respecting New Hampshire and Maine, were detained to answer the complaints of the quakers,—gravely preferred by these sectaries to a government which was itself administering with far greater rigour upon them the very policy which it now encouraged them to impute to one of its own provincial dependencies as the most scandalous cruelty and injustice. Other and more serious imputations contributed to detain the agents and increase their perplexity. Randolph, who was distinguished by a staunch and sagacious activity in support of the views and interests of arbitrary power, and whom the people of New England described as “going up and down seeking whom he might devour,” had ably and diligently fulfilled his instructions to collect as much matter of complaint as he could obtain within the colony; and loaded with the hatred of the people, which he cordially reciprocated, he now returned to England and opened his budget of arraignment and vituperation. The most just and most formidable of his charges was, that the navigation act was entirely disregarded, and a free trade pursued by the colonists with all parts of the world. This was a charge which the agents could neither deny nor extenuate; and they anxiously pressed their constituents to put an end to the occasion of it. Any measures which the king might adopt, either for promoting the future efficacy of the navigation acts, or punishing the past neglect which they had experienced, were the more likely to coincide with the

sentiments of the English people, from the interest which a considerable portion of the mercantile class of their countrymen enjoyed in the monopoly which it was the object of those laws to secure. A petition had been presented to the king and privy council by a number of English merchants and manufacturers, complaining of the disregard of the navigation acts in New England, and praying that they might hereafter be vigorously executed, for the sake of promoting the trade of the parent state, as well as of preserving her dominion over her colonies. That a stronger impression might be made on the public mind, the petitioners were solemnly heard in presence of the privy council, and suffered to plead at great length in support of their commercial complaints and political views. The general court of Massachusetts, alarmed by these proceedings, at length intimated, by letter to their agents, that "they apprehended the navigation acts to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his majesty in the colony;—*they not being represented in parliament*; and, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England being bounded within the four seas, and not reaching to America." They added, however, that, "as his majesty had signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed in Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation." These expressions, and the recent provincial law to which they refer, demonstrate the peculiar views which were entertained by the people of Massachusetts of the connexion that subsisted between themselves and the parent state. Their pretensions were the same with those which a few years after were advanced by the people of Ireland;—that, although dependent on the crown, and obliged to conform their jurisprudence, as far as possible, to the law of England, the statutes of the English parliament did not operate within their territory, till re-enacted, or otherwise recognised, by their own domestic legislature. So fully did this notion possess the minds of the people of New England, and so obstinately did their interests resist the execution of the commercial regulations, that even

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1678.

1679.

BOOK II.
 1679. the submissive province of Rhode Island, although, about this time, in imitation of Massachusetts, it took some steps towards a conformity with these regulations, never expressly recognised them till the year 1700, when its legislature *empowered* the governor "to put the acts of navigation in execution."¹

The provincial agents, aware of the strong interests that prompted their countrymen still to overstep the boundaries of their regulated trade, furnished them with correct information of the threatening aspect of their affairs in England, and assured them that only an entire compliance with the navigation acts could shelter them from the impending storm of royal tyranny and vengeance. These honest representations produced the too frequent effect of unwelcome truths: they diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited suspicions in Boston that they had not advocated the interests of the colony with sufficient zeal. The people were always too apt to suspect that their deputies in England were over-awed by the state, and infected with the subservience that prevailed at the royal court; and they neglected to make due allowance for the different aspect which a dispute with England presented to men who beheld face to face her vast establishments and superior power, and to those who speculated on the probability of such dispute at the opposite extremity of the Atlantic ocean. The agents at length obtained leave to return; and though some impatience and ill humour had been excited by their fidelity in the discharge of a disagreeable duty, the deliberate sentiments of their countrymen were so little perverted, that when the king again intimated his desire of the re-appointment of agents in England, the colonists twice again elected the same individuals to their former office, —which, however, these persons could never again be persuaded to undertake. They carried back with them to America a letter containing the requisitions of the king, of which the most material were, that the formula of the oath of allegiance should be rendered more explicit, and should be subscribed by every person holding an office of trust in New

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

England; that all civil and military commissions should be issued in the king's name; and all laws repugnant to the English commercial statutes abolished. The general court, eagerly indulging the hope that, by a compliance with these moderate demands, they could appease their sovereign and avert his displeasure, proceeded instantly to enact laws in conformity with his requisitions. They trusted that he had now abandoned the designs which they had been taught to apprehend; and which, in reality, were merely suspended by the influence of the proceedings connected with the popish plot, and with the parliamentary bill that was in agitation for excluding the Duke of York from the throne. Although the requisitions which the king had transmitted by the hands of Stoughton and Bulkeley were obeyed, he continued to intimate, from time to time, his desire that new agents might be appointed to represent the colony in London: but partly from the apprehensive jealousy with which the colonists regarded such a measure, and partly from the reluctance that prevailed among their political leaders to undertake so arduous and delicate an employment, the king's desires on this point were not complied with. The short interval of independence which the colonists were yet permitted to enjoy was very remote from a state of tranquillity. Randolph, who had commended himself to the king and his ministers by the diligence and activity with which he co-operated with their views, was appointed collector of the customs at Boston; and a custom-house establishment, which some years before had been erected without opposition in Virginia and Maryland, was now extended to New England.¹ But it was in Massachusetts that this measure was intended to produce the effects which it was easily foreseen would result from its own nature, as well as from the temper and the unpopularity of the person who was appointed to conduct it. The navigation acts were evaded in Rhode Island, and openly contemned and violated in Con-

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1679.

¹ As a measure, partly of terror, and partly of punishment, it was determined by the English privy council, about this time, "that no Mediterranean passes shall be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies."—Chalmers.

- B O O K
 II.
 1679. necticut: yet these states were permitted to practise such irregularities without reprehension. It seems to have been less the execution of the commercial statutes themselves than the king desired, than the advantage which would accrue from an attempt to enforce them after such long neglect in the obnoxious province of Massachusetts. To this province he confined his attention; and justly considered that the issue of a contest with it, would necessarily involve the fate of all the other settlements in New England. Randolph now exercised his functions with the most offensive rigour, and very soon complained that the stubbornness of the people defeated all his efforts, and presented insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws. Almost every suit that he instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures issued in a judicial sentence against himself. He repaired to England in order to lay his complaints before his employers, and returned invested with more extensive powers, in the exercise of which he was not more successful. He reproached the provincial authorities with injustice and partiality: and they denied the charge and accused him of unnecessary and vexatious litigation. The requisitions and remonstrances which the king continued to address to the general court from time to time, were answered by professions of loyalty, and by partial compliances: but on one point, the colonists seemed to have determined either entirely, or as long as possible, to evade the royal will: and, though repeatedly directed, they still delayed, to send deputies to England. The general court was at this time divided between two parties, who cordially agreed in the esteem and attachment by which they were wedded to their chartered privileges, but differed in opinion as to the extent to which it was expedient to contend for them. Bradstreet, the governor, at the head of the moderate party, promoted every compliance with the will of the parent state short of a total surrender of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Massachusetts. Danforth, the deputy-governor, at the head of another party, obstructed the appointment of deputies, and opposed all submission to the acts of trade; maintaining that the colonists should adhere to the strict construction of their charter, resist every abridgment of it as a dangerous precedent, no less than an injurious aggression, and standing firm
- 1680.
- State of parties in Massachusetts.

in defence of their utmost right, commit the event to Divine Providence. These parties conducted their debates with warmth, but without acrimony; and as the sentiments of one or other alternately prevailed, a greater or lesser degree of compliance with the demands of the king was infused into the undecided policy of the general court.¹

The scene of trouble and misfortune in which the New England communities had for a series of years been involved, could not fail to produce a grave and earnest impression on the minds of men habituated to regard all the events of life in a religious aspect; and contributed to revive among the descendants of the original planters, the piety for which New England had been at first so highly distinguished. A short time before the commencement of their troubles, a natural phenomenon² that excited much awe and tribulation at the time, and was long pondered with earnest and solemn remembrance, was visible for several nights successively in the heavens. It was a bright meteor in the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun,—and which, with slow majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon. This splendid phenomenon produced a deep and general impression on the minds of the people: and the magistrates, without expressly alluding to it, acknowledged and endeavoured to improve its influence by taking the opportunity to promote a general reformation of manners. Circular letters were transmitted to all the clergy, urging them to increased diligence in exemplifying and inculcating the precepts of religion, especially on the young, and instructing their parishioners from house to house. The dupes of science, falsely so called, may deride these impressions, and ascribe to ignorant wonder the piety which they enkindled: but enlightened philosophy will confess the worth and dignity of that principle which recognises in every display of the great phenomena of nature, an additional call to worship and glorify its Almighty Creator,

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. From a report presented this year (1680) to the lords of trade, it appears that Connecticut then contained twenty-one churches, each of which had its minister; a militia of 2500 men; a very few indented servants, and thirty slaves. Holmes.

² In the Journal of John Evelyn there are descriptions of the occurrence of similar phenomena in England, in the years 1643 and 1680.

BOOK II.
 1680. State of religion and morals in New England.

and which elevates and refines human faculties by placing every object that forcibly strikes them in a noble and graceful light derived from connexion with the interests of morality and the honour of God. The events of the Indian war, the agricultural losses that were occasioned by the severity of the ensuing season, and, latterly, the disquiet excited by the contentions with the English government, served, in like manner, to humble the people beneath the hand of that Sovereign Power which controls the passions of men as well as the elements of nature; and were equally productive of increased diligence in the cultivation of piety and the reformation of manners. Deeply lamenting the moral imperfections and deficiencies which they experienced in themselves and remarked in those around them, many of the ministers, magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Massachusetts and Connecticut urgently besought their countrymen to consider if the interruption of Divine favour did not betoken neglect of the Divine will; and by precept and example laboured to eradicate every evil habit or licentious practice that a state of war and an influx of commercial wealth were supposed to have produced. Men were strongly exhorted to carry a continual respect to the Divine will into the minutest ramifications of their affairs, and to refine and sanctify whatever they did by *doing it to the Lord*. The general court published a catalogue of the epidemical vices of the times, in which we find enumerated, neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner of cutting and curling hair, excess of finery, immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns. Grand juries were directed to make presentment of offenders in these respects: but either the happier influence of example and remonstrance was sufficient to control the obnoxious practices, or they never attained such extent of prevalence as to justify the infliction of legal severities.¹ In many instances the scrupulous piety of the provincial magistrates has reprobated existing vices, and the extent to which they prevailed, in language which is apt to beget mis-

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Trumbull.

apprehension, if it be interpreted in conformity with the general notions and tone of the world: and, hence, a writer no less acute than Chalmers has fallen into the gross mistake of deriving a charge of extraordinary immorality against the inhabitants of Massachusetts from the very circumstances that prove the strength of their piety, the purity of their moral habits, and the still higher purity of their moral aspirations. The strong sense that true religion awakens of the depraved propensities inherent in human nature, causes the expression of the moral sentiments of truly religious men to appear to the world as the ravings of hypocritical cant or fanatical delusion.¹

The king had never lost sight of his purpose of remodelling the constitution of Massachusetts: but on this point, some moderation had been latterly enforced upon him by the more personal and pressing concern of resisting the attempts of Shaftesbury to re-enact the deep and daring policy of the Duke of Guise, and control his sovereign by the formation and supremacy of a protestant league in England. While Shaftesbury and his party were able to retain their influence on the public mind by the artifice of the *popish plot*, and to attack the monarchy by the device of the exclusion bill, it was probably deemed unsafe to signalize the royal administration by any public act of extraordinary tyranny in a province so eminent for zeal in the protestant cause as Massachusetts. But Charles had now obtained a complete victory over his domestic adversaries; and, among other excesses of retaliatory violence and arbitrary power by which he hastened to improve his success, he instituted writs of *quo warranto* against the principal corporations in England, and easily obtained judgments from the courts of law that declared all their liberties and franchises forfeited to the crown. About two years before this period, he had deliberated on the possibility of superseding entirely the constitution of Massachusetts without the inter-

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¹ After this manner the New England ministers were accustomed to address their hearers. "It concerneth New England always to remember that they are originally a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants, and such as are increasing cent. per cent., remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New Englandman."—Higginson's Election Sermon, 1663, *apud* Belknap.

B O O K
II.

1681.

mediate recourse of any legal solemnity; but, on consulting Jones and Winnington, the attorney and solicitor general, he learned that his object could not be securely or effectually attained except by the instrumentality of a writ of *quo warranto*, which at that time it was not deemed expedient to employ. But now every impediment to the gratification of his wishes was removed; and the colonists received such intelligence from their friends in England as permitted them no longer to doubt that the abrogation of their charter was finally resolved on, and was to be instantly attempted. Randolph, who made numerous voyages between England and America, and had lately affixed a protest on the exchange of Boston against the legitimacy of the provincial government and its official acts, now brought from London a letter from the king, dated the 26th of October, 1681, recapitulating all the complaints against the colony, and commanding that deputies should instantly be sent to him, not only to answer these complaints, but “with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his majesty should think fit;” which, if the colonists should fail to do, it was intimated that a writ of *quo warranto* would be directed against their charter. A new criminatory charge, suggested by the inquisitive hostility of Randolph, was at the same time preferred against them,—that they coined money within the province in contempt of the king’s prerogative. The general court, in answer to this sudden arraignment of a practice which had been permitted so long to prevail without objection, explained in what manner and at what time it had originated, and appealed to these circumstances as decisively proving that no contempt of royal authority had been designed; but, withal, declared that if it were regarded as a trespass on his majesty’s prerogative, they humbly entreated pardon for the offence, and indulgence for the ignorance under which it had been committed. Among the other complaints that were urged by the king,—were the presumptuous purchase of the province of Maine, which the colonists were again commanded to surrender, and the disallowance of religious worship except on the model of the congregational churches within the colony. To the first of these they answered by repeating their former apology, and still declining what was required of them; and to the second, that liberty of worship was now granted to

all denominations of christians in Massachusetts. The royal letter contained many other charges ; but they were all answered by solemn protestations that either the commands they imported had been already fulfilled, or the disobedience they imputed had not been committed. An assembly of the general court having been held for the purpose of electing deputies to represent the province in England, and Stoughton again declining to accept this office, it was conferred on Dudley and Richards, two of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of Massachusetts. But as the powers which the royal letter required that they should be invested with, of submitting to whatever regulations of government the king should think fit to propose, were nothing else than powers to surrender all the rights of their countrymen, the court was careful to grant no such authority, and, on the contrary, plainly expressed in their instructions that the deputies were not to do or consent to any thing that should infringe the liberties bestowed by the charter, or infer the slightest alteration of the existing form of government. The deputies set sail for England, whither they were soon followed by Randolph, eager to confront them and counteract their exertions.¹ A public fast was appointed to be observed throughout the province ; and prayers were addressed to Heaven for the preservation of the charter and the success of the deputation. Means less pure, though certainly not unjustifiable, were adopted, or at least sanctioned, by the provincial council or board of assistants, for promoting at the English court, the wishes and interests of their countrymen. Cranfield, the late royal governor of New Hampshire, being on a visit at Boston, suggested to those authorities that the provincial deputies should be directed to wait on Lord Hyde, and tender the sum of two thousand guineas for the private service of the king, which he assured them, from the notorious poverty and venality of the court, would infallibly procure a suspension of all hostile proceedings. They fell headlong into

CHAP.
IV.

1681.

Feb. 1682.

¹ To such a degree had Randolph excited the jealousy and abhorrence of the colonists, that a great fire happening on one occasion to break out in Boston, soon after his arrival in the city, he was generally believed by the populace to have been the author of it, (Hutchinson) : and so conscious was he of the provocation he had given to popular vengeance, that he expressed his apprehensions to the British ministry that the people of Massachusetts would account him guilty of treason and punish him with death for attempting to subvert their political constitution.—Holmes.

BOOK the snare; and having written letters to this effect to the de-
 11. puties, Cranfield despatched letters at the same time to the
 1682. king, which he assured them contained the strongest recom-
 mendations of the colonists to royal favour. But though these
 men were willing, in a cause where no interests but their own
 were involved, to sacrifice their money for their liberty, and to
 buy their country out of the hands of a sordid and dissolute
 tyrant,—it was not the will of Providence that the liberties of
 Massachusetts should be bought with gold, or that the prayers
 which had been associated with such exertions should prevail.
 Letters soon arrived from the deputies, informing their consti-
 tuents that Cranfield had written a ludicrous account of the
 affair to the king, and vaunted his dexterity in outwitting the
 people of Boston, whom he described as a crew of miscreants
 and rebels; and that the publication of the story had exposed
 them to the derision of the whole court.¹

Surrender
 of the
 charter of
 Massachu-
 setts de-
 manded by
 the king—

The American deputies found their sovereign intoxicated
 with the triumph of his victorious prerogative, and incensed
 to the highest degree against a province that had so long
 presumed to withstand his will. Their credentials, which
 were exhibited to Sir Lionel Jenkins, the secretary of state,
 were at once declared to be insufficient; and they were in-
 formed, that unless a commission more ample and satisfactory
 were immediately produced, it was his majesty's pleasure
 that a writ of *quo warranto* against their country's charter
 should issue without delay. The deputies communicated this
 peremptory injunction to their constituents; assuring them,
 at the same time, that the predicament of the colony was des-
 perate; and leaving them to determine whether it was most
 advisable to submit themselves unreservedly to his majesty's
 pleasure, or to abide the issue of a process which would cer-
 tainly be fatal. This important question, the determination
 of which was to be the last exercise of their highly prized
 liberty, was solemnly discussed both in the general court,
 and, as was meet, by the inhabitants of the province at large;
 and the prevailing sentiment was declared to be, "that it
 was better to die by other hands than their own." An
 earnest address to the king was framed by the general court;

1683.
 refused by
 the co-
 lonists.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

a corresponding one was signed by the inhabitants at large; and the agents were directed to present or suppress these addresses according to their own discretion. They were, likewise, authorised to resign the titles of the province of Maine, if, by so doing, they could preserve the charter of Massachusetts,—and they were finally assured of the irrevocable determination of their constituents to adhere to the charter and never to show themselves unworthy of liberty by making a voluntary surrender of it. The communication of this magnanimous answer put an end to the functions of the deputies; and a writ of *quo warranto* having been issued forthwith against the colony, they desired leave to retire from the scene of this procedure, and were permitted to return to Boston. They were instantly followed by Randolph, who had presented to the committee of plantations a catalogue of crimes and misdemeanours which he imputed to the provincial government, and was now selected to carry the fatal writ across the Atlantic. The communication was highly agreeable to the messenger who conveyed it; and Randolph performed his office with a triumphant eagerness that added insult to injury, and increased the detestation with which he was universally regarded. The king at the same time made a last attempt to induce the colonists to spare him the tedious formalities of legal process. He declared, that if before judgment they would unreservedly submit and resign themselves to his pleasure, he would consider their interest as well as his own in composing the new charter, and make no farther innovation on the original constitution of the province than should be necessary for the due support of his authority. To add weight to this suggestion, the colonists were apprised, that all the corporations in England except the city of London, had surrendered their privileges to the king; and copies of the proceedings which had proved fatal to the charter of London were dispersed through the province,—that all might learn the hopelessness of a contest with royal authority. But the people of Massachusetts were not to be moved from their purpose by the threats of despotic power or the example of general servility. They had acted well, and had now to suffer well; and disdainfully refused to diminish the infamy of their oppressor by sharing it with him. A majority of the council,

CHAP.
IV.
1683.

Writ of
quo war-
ranto
issued
against the
colony.

October.

Firmness
of the
people.

BOOK
II.

1683.

1684.

Their char-
ter ad-
judged to
be for-
feited.

2 July,
1685.

overwhelmed by their calamities, voted an address of submission to the king; but the house of delegates, animated with the general feeling of the people, and supported by the approbation of the clergy, rejected the address, and adhered to their former resolutions. The process of *quo warranto* was in consequence urged forward with all the expedition that was compatible with forensic formality. Among other instances of tyrannical contempt of justice, the summons which required the colony to defend itself was transmitted so tardily, that before compliance with it was possible, the space assigned for such compliance had elapsed. At length, in Trinity Term of the following year, judgment was pronounced by the English Court of King's Bench against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "That their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be cancelled;" and in the year after, an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court.¹

Thus was the system of liberty that had flourished in Massachusetts overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose tyranny had led to its establishment; after being defended by the children of the original settlers with the same resolute unbending virtue that their fathers had exerted in founding and rearing it. The venerable Bradstreet, who had accompanied the first emigrants to Massachusetts in 1630, was still alive, and was governor of the colony at the period of the subversion of those institutions which he had contributed originally to plant in the desert, and had so long continued to adorn and enjoy. Perhaps he now discerned the vanity of those sentiments that had prompted so many of the co-evals whom he had survived, to lament their deaths as premature. But the aged eyes that beheld this eclipse of New England's prosperity, were not yet to close till they had seen the return of better days.

That the measures of the king were in the highest degree unjust and tyrannical, appears manifest beyond all decent denial; and that the legal adjudication by which he masked his tyranny was never annulled by the English parliament, is a circumstance very little creditable to English justice. The

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

House of Commons, indeed, shortly after the Revolution, CHAP. IV.
 inflamed with indignation at the first recital of the transac-
 tions which we have now witnessed, passed a resolution de-
 claring "that those *quo warrantos* against the charters of New
 England were illegal and void ;" and followed up this resolu-
 tion by a bill for restoring the charter of Massachusetts. But
 the progress of the bill was arrested in the House of Lords by
 a sudden prorogation of parliament : and the Commons were
 afterwards prevailed with to depart from their purpose by the
 arguments of Treby, Somers, and Holt,¹ whose eminent fa-
 culties and constitutional principles could not exempt them
 from the influence of a superstitious prejudice, generated by
 their professional habits, in favour of the sacredness of legal
 formalities.

¹ Chalmers. Hutchinson.

CHAPTER V.

Designs—and Death of Charles the Second.—Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James the Second.—Andros appointed Governor of New England.—Submission of Rhode Island.—Effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut.—Oppressive Government of Andros.—Colonial Policy of the King.—Sir William Phipps.—Indian Hostilities renewed by the Intrigues of the French.—Insurrection at Boston.—Andros deposed—and the ancient Government restored.—Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters.—William and Mary proclaimed.—War with the French and Indians.—Sir William Phipps conquers Acadie.—Ineffectual Expedition against Quebec.—Impeachment of Andros by the Colony, discouraged by the English Ministers—and dismissed.—The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts.—Tenor of the new Charter.—Sir William Phipps Governor.—The New England Witchcraft.—Death of Phipps.—War with the French and Indians.—Loss of Acadie.—Peace of Ryswick.—Moral and political State of New England.

BOOK
II.

1685.

So eager was Charles to complete the execution of his long cherished designs on Massachusetts, that in November 1684, immediately after the judgment of the Court of King's Bench against its charter was pronounced, he began to make arrangements for the new government of the colony. Though not even a complaint had been pretended against New Plymouth, he scrupled not to involve this settlement in the same fate; and as if he purposed to consummate his tyranny and vengeance by a measure that should surpass the darkest anticipations entertained in New England, he selected as the delegate of his prerogative, a man than whom it would be difficult in the whole records of human cruelty and wickedness to find one who has excited to a greater degree the abhorrence and indignation of his fellow-creatures. The notorious *Colonel Kirke*, whose brutal and sanguinary excesses have secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, New

Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth; and it was determined that no representative assembly of the colonists should be permitted to exist, but that the legislative and executive powers should be invested in the governor and a council appointed during the royal pleasure. This arbitrary policy was approved by all the ministers of Charles, except the Marquis of Halifax, who espoused the cause of the colonists with a generous zeal, and warmly but vainly urged that they were entitled to enjoy the same laws and institutions that were established in England.¹ Though Kirke had not yet committed the enormities by which he was destined to illustrate his name in the west of England, he had already given such indications of his disposition in the government of Tangier, that the tidings of his appointment filled the inhabitants of the colony with horror and dismay. But before the royal commission and instructions to this ruffian were completed, the career of the monarch himself was interrupted by death; and Kirke was reserved to contribute by his atrocities in England to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. This successor, James the Second, from whose stern inflexible temper and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, the most gloomy presages of tyranny had been drawn, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy solemnity.²

CHAP.
V.
1685.
Designs—

and death
of Charles
the Second.

These presages were verified by the conduct of the new sovereign. Soon after his accession to the throne, he appointed, by special commission, a provincial government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, to be administered by a president and council selected from the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose functions were merely executive, and were to endure till the establishment of a fixed and permanent system. The functionaries thus appointed were directed to concede liberty of conscience to all persons, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the votaries of the church of England; to determine all suits originating within

Government of
Massachusetts under
a temporary com-
mission
from James
the Second.

¹ The French court and the Duke of York remonstrated with Charles on the impolicy of retaining in office a man who had professed such sentiments. Barillon's Correspondence in the Appendix to Fox's History of James the Second. "Even at this early period," says Mr. Fox, "a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home."

² Hutchinson. Chalmers.

B O O K
 11.
 1685. the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king; and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes previously imposed. This commission was appointed to be laid before the general court at Boston, not as still considered a body administering legal authority, but as a convocation of individuals of the greatest influence and consideration in the province. In answer to the communication of its contents, the court voted a unanimous resolution in which they protested that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the system of government which had been announced to them; and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced and those who were subjected to the operation of this system, to reflect how far it was safe to pursue it. For themselves, they declared that if the newly appointed officers should think proper to exercise their functions, though they could never regard them as invested with constitutional power, they would demean themselves, notwithstanding, as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince for relief. The president named in the commission was Dudley, who had lately been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct had justified, in some degree, the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the persons to whom they were constrained to intrust that important office. The patriotic virtue of this man, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of regal splendour; and he had not been able to look on the pomp and show of aristocratical institutions with philosophic composure or undesiring eyes. Despairing of his ability at once to serve and gratify his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court: and in pursuing this crooked policy, he seems to have flattered himself with the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to official pre-eminence among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with themselves, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded the other persons who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to demonstrate a friendly regard to the rights of the people, and to the municipal insti-

May,
 1686.

tutions which they so highly valued. Not only was immediate change in the provincial magistracy avoided,—but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English court, stating that a well regulated assembly of the representatives of the people was urgently necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system which was erected on the ruins of their liberty, administered by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them; and nothing but the apprehension of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England seemed gloomily to foretell the treatment of America, prevented an open expression of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures and associates of Randolph within the province, who were eager to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were soon transmitted by these persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at wonted practices by which the trade laws were evaded, countenancing ancient principles of civil and ecclesiastical policy, and evincing, in general, but a lukewarm affection to the king's service.¹

In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the commissioners, the king was now compelled to undertake the completion of his plans, by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement to which he had resorted. It was found that the provincial acts of taxation were about to expire; and the commissioners being devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They had employed this consideration to support their suggestion of a representative assembly: but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his provincial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He had consulted the crown lawyers, and in particular Sir William Jones, the at-

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

B O O K

II.

1686.

torney-general, respecting the extent of his powers; and they had given as their official opinion “that notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties, and consequently that the king could no more grant a commission to levy money on them, without their consent in an assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance;” a truth of which the discovery implies no extraordinary legal knowledge or acuteness, but of which this open declaration bespeaks more honesty than we might be prepared to expect from persons selected by the monarch from a society of lawyers which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority which nominally and theoretically constitutes the source and fundamental principle of the system which they administer, cherish also in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that practically constitute their own influence and the peculiar mystery of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice. But James was too much enamoured of arbitrary power, to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity: and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America.

Andros appointed governor of New England.

But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a board of councillors, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people, according to the tenor of his commission, of a separate letter of instruc-

tions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record; and from their decisions an appeal was to be admitted to the king. The greater part of the instructions that were communicated to Andros are of a nature that would do honour to the patriotism of the king, if the praise of this virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of the people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded. Andros was directed to promote no persons to offices of trust, but colonists of fair character and competent estate, and to displace none without *sufficient cause*; to respect and administer the existing laws of the country, in so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quit-rents; "to take away or to harm no man's life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm;" to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to obstruct their attention to their own private business and necessary affairs; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining ingrossers; to check the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes; *to allow no printing press to exist*; and to grant universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing, (which, though enjoined, appears not to have been carried into effect,) there is none of these instructions that expresses a spirit of despotism: and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit: for as there were no securities provided for the accomplishment of the king's benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was entrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free, or enabled to pursue a scheme of happiness independent of his agency and control: and this conjunction of a desire to promote human welfare, with an aversion to the means most likely to secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apo-

BOOK

II.

1686.

December.

logy, of an error to which despotic sovereigns are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of their own will, and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they learn to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be irresistible; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own concurrence, than of the right to balk the natural desire of mankind to be the providers and guardians of their own welfare. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue: and the absolute monarch who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow-creatures, would deserve to be honoured as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended with a few companies of soldiers for its support, Andros arrived in Boston; and presenting himself as the substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke,—and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good will,—he was at first received more favourably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short-lived. Instead of conforming to his *instructions*, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary conduct of his master in England, and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions.¹ Dudley, the late president, and several of his colleagues, were associated as councillors of the new administration,—which was thus loaded in the beginning of its career, with the weight of their unpopularity, and in the end, involved themselves in deeper odium and disgrace.

It was the purpose of James to consolidate the strength of all the British colonies in one united government; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in the fate of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, immediately transmitted an address congratulating him on his elevation, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the consequences of the plans he had embraced for the general government of New England. Articles of high misde-

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

meanour were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the acts of navigation ; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation they resolved that they would not contend with their sovereign, and passed an act, in full assembly, formally surrendering the charter and all the powers it contained. By a fresh address they “ humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts.” These servile expressions dishonoured, but did not avail them ; and the king, accounting legal solemnities a superfluous ceremony with persons so devoted to his will, proceeded, without farther delay, to impose the yoke which the people sought to evade by deserving it. His eagerness, however, to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on this community at the time, proved ultimately beneficial to their political interests by preserving their charter from a legal extinction : and this benefit, which a similar improvidence afforded to the people of Connecticut, was ascertained at the era of the British Revolution. In consequence of the last address that had proceeded from Rhode Island, Andros had been charged to extend his administration to this province : and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston, he visited Rhode Island, where he dissolved the provincial corporation, broke its seal, and admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, assumed the exercise of all the functions of government.¹

Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. When the articles of misdemeanour were exhibited against Rhode Island, a measure of similar import was employed against the governor and assembly of Connecticut, who were reproached with making laws contrary in tenor to those of England ; of extorting unreasonable fines ; of administering an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in contradistinction to the oath of allegiance ; of intolerance in ecclesi-

CHAP.
V.
1686.

Submis-
sion of
Rhode
Island.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers.

BOOK
II.

1686.

January,
1687.

October.

astical polity ; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to expedite a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy of American liberty, offered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. The governor and the assembly of Connecticut had for some time beheld the storm approaching, and knowing that resistance was vain, they endeavoured, with considerable address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying as long as possible to make any signification of their intentions, the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his conduct in Rhode Island, convinced them that the designs of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be allowed to deliberate any longer. They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing a strong desire to retain their present constitution ; but requesting, if it were the irrevocable purpose of their sovereign to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be incorporated with Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people with whom they had always maintained a friendly correspondence, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was hastily construed by the British government into a surrender of the provincial constitution : and Andros was commanded to annex this province also to his jurisdiction. Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote the execution of tyrannical designs, advised the English ministers to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue ; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had done, what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law ; and no farther judicial proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford, the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people had been ex-

tremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with advantage. The charter was laid on the table of the assembly, and some of the principal inhabitants of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, relating the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been incurred, in order to found the institutions which he was come to destroy; entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favour and happiness they had hitherto enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined, lights were introduced into the hall, which was gradually surrounded by a numerous concourse of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the apprehended violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, finding that their arguments were ineffectual, a measure, supposed to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully conducted. The lights were extinguished, as if by accident; and Captain Wadsworth laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded,—and deposited it in the hollow of an ancient elm tree, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the English revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the memorial and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros, finding all his efforts ineffectual to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it had been secreted, contented himself with declaring that its institutions were dissolved; and assuming to himself the exercise of supreme authority, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his general legislative council.¹

Having thus united all the New England states under one comprehensive system of arbitrary government, Andros, with the assistance of his grand legislative council selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, addressed him-

CHAP.
V.
1687.
Effort to
preserve
the charter
of Connect-
icut.

¹ Hutchinson. Chalmers. Dwight's Travels. Trumbull.

BOOK
II.

1687.

Oppressive
govern-
ment of
Andros.

self to the task of enacting laws and regulations calculated to fortify his authority. An act restoring the former taxes obtained the assent of the council ; and yet, even this indispensable provision was obstructed by the reluctance with which the councillors, though selected by Andros himself, consented to become the instrument of rivetting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced, proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex in Massachusetts, who, insisting that they were free-men, refused to pay the contingent assessed upon them of a taxation which they deemed unconstitutional. But their resistance was easily overpowered, and many of them were severely punished. Andros soon discovered that the revenues of the ancient government were inadequate to the support of his more costly administration ; and while he signified this defalcation to the king, he declared, at the same time, with real or affected humanity, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war, by recent losses at sea, and by scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could hardly be endured. But James, who had exhausted his lenity in the letter of instructions, answered this communication by a peremptory mandate to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration ; and Andros, there-upon, either stifling his tenderness for the people, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a rigour and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and the fees of all public functionaries screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto committed to the magistrates, was confined to the ministers of the church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who maintained that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He took occasion repeatedly, and with the most offensive insolence, to remark in presence of the council, that the colonists would find themselves greatly mistaken if they supposed that the privileges

of Englishmen followed them to the extremity of the earth; and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves, was that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in letters to his friends that the rulers of New England were "as arbitrary as the great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he contrived by intrigue and partiality in the selection of jurymen, to convict and wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the misdeeds of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to heighten the discontent excited by such tyrannical insolence, he took occasion to question the validity of the existing titles to landed property, pretending that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and obnoxious to its fate.¹ New grants or patents from the governor, it was announced, were requisite to mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against all who refused to apply for such patents and to pay the large fees that were charged for them. Most of the landed proprietors were compelled to submit to this extortion in order to save their estates from confiscation,—an extremity which, however, was braved by one individual, Colonel Shrimpton, who preferred the loss of his property to the recognition of a principle which he deemed both oppressive and dishonourable to his country. The king, indeed, had now encouraged Andros to consider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to as many of the colonists as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to solicit a grace that exclusively befitted the guilty. The only act of the king that was favourably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony, was his *declaration of indulgence*, which excited so much discontent in

¹ The titles of many of the proprietors of estates in New England depended upon conveyances executed by the Indians: but Andros declared that Indian deeds were no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw." Belknap.

BOOK II.
 1687. Britain, even among the protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there; though some of the inhabitants had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual introduction of the catholic church into Britain.¹

April,
 1688.

After many ineffectual remonstrances against his violence and injustice had been addressed by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent theologian and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent to England, to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. Randolph, whose subservience to the royal policy had been rewarded with the offices of postmaster-general and licenser of the press in New England, exerted himself to defeat the success of the deputation by writing to the English court that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the petitions which the colonists transmitted by Mather were remarkably moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was that their freeholds might be respected, and that a representative assembly might be established for the purpose, at least, of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king; but as to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phipps, who had gained his esteem by his spirit and gallantry, pressed him to grant the colonists an assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William;" and even the opinion of Powis, the attorney-general, to whom the application of the deputies had been remitted, and who reported that it was just and reasonable, produced no change in his determination. James had now enlarged and completed his system of colonial policy. He had determined to reduce all the American constitutions, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as the others, to an immediate dependence on the crown; for the double purpose of effacing the examples that might diminish the re-

Colonial
 policy of
 the king.

¹ Life of Phipps, *apud* Mather. Neal. Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters. Hutchinson. Chalmers. Trumbull.

signation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, into a compact system capable of presenting a barrier to the formidable encroachments of France. A general dislike of liberal establishments, no doubt conspired with these views; and the declamations that resounded from his oppressed subjects in Britain on the happiness and liberty which America was reputed to enjoy, contributed, at this period, to increase his aversion to American institutions.¹ In prosecution of his politic design, he had recently commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the colonial patents that still remained in force; and, shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had extended the jurisdiction of Andros to New York and New Jersey, and conferred the appointment of lieutenant-governor on Colonel Francis Nicholson. Andros, with his usual promptitude, accomplished this enlargement of his authority; and, having appointed his deputy to reside at New York, he conducted his wide dominion with a vigour that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed.²

Sir William Phipps, whose fruitless interposition we have remarked in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of this province, and, notwithstanding a mean education and the depression of the humblest circumstances, had ascended by the mere force of superior genius to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, capacity, and success. He followed the employment of a

Sir Wil-
liam
Phipps.

¹ Dryden, whose servile muse faithfully re-echoed the sentiments of the court, thus expresses himself in a dramatic prologue written in the year 1686.—

“ Since faction ebbs, and rogues grow out of fashion,
Their penny scribes take care to inform the nation
How well men thrive in this or that plantation :
How Pennsylvania’s air agrees with quakers,
And Carolina’s with associators :
Both e’en too good for madmen and for traitors.
Truth is, our land with saints is so run o’er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there’s need of two New Englands more.”

² Neal. Hutchinson. Chalmers.

BOOK

II.

1683.

shepherd at his native place till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant vessel. An account which he happened to peruse of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with bullion, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, inspired him with the bold design of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep; and, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly that the king was struck with it, and in 1683 sent him with a vessel to make the attempt. It proved unsuccessful; and all his urgency could not induce James to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albemarle, resuming the project, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phipps, who now succeeded in accomplishing his project, and achieved the recovery of specie to the value of at least 300,000*l.*, from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure, he obtained a portion sufficient for his own enrichment, with a still larger meed of general consideration and applause. The king was exhorted by some of his courtiers to confiscate the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that he had not received a fair representation of the project; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the timorous counsels and mean suspicions of those courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the riches which this honest man had sought to procure for him. He conceived a high regard for Phipps, and conferred on him the rank of knighthood. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country; and his patriotism seems never to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the chartered privileges, he solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England; in the hope that by remedying the abuses that were committed in the impannelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, hired ruffians to attack his person, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in Britain. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts

he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phipps the government of New England; but Phipps refused to accept this appointment from a falling tyrant, and under a system which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to behold entirely overthrown.¹

The discontent of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase, in so much that every act of the government, however innocent or even laudable, was viewed through the perverting medium of a fixed and inveterate jealousy. In order to discredit the former provincial authorities, Andros and Randolph had sedulously inculcated the notion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with a cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities of these savages ought reasonably to be imputed; and had vaunted their own ability to pacify and propitiate them by gentleness and equity.² But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose suppleness of character and demeanour, contrasted with the grave unbending spirit of the English, gave them in general a great advantage in the competition for the favour of the Indians; and who found it easier to direct and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their savage neighbours. The English colonists offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept; but the encouragement of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity prompted them to signalise this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter he found himself obliged to march with a considerable force against these enemies;

CHAP.
V.
1688.

Indian
hostilities
renewed
by the in-
trigues of
the
French.

¹ Life of Phipps, *apud* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

² It appears that Randolph cultivated the good opinion of William Penn, by writing to him in this strain, as well as by condemning the former persecution of the quakers in Massachusetts.—Hutchinson. Chalmers.

BOOK II.
 1688. and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him somewhat to restrain their future incursions, he inflicted but little injury upon them, and lost a great many of his own men, who perished in vain attempts to follow the Indians into their fastnesses, in the most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so indiscriminating was the dislike he had excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a deliberate purpose to destroy the troops whom he conducted, by cold and famine.¹ Every reproach, however groundless, stuck fast to the hated characters of Andros and Randolph.

1689. At length the smothered rage of the people broke forth. In the spring some vague intelligence was received, by letters from Virginia, of the proceedings of the Prince of Orange in England. The ancient magistrates and principal inhabitants of the province, though they ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend the Prince's enterprise, yet determined in so great a cause to incur no unnecessary hazard, and quietly to await a revolution which they believed that no movement of theirs could either promote or retard. But New England was destined to accomplish by her own efforts, her own liberation; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the gallant privilege which nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the foremost in resisting oppression and vindicating the rights and honour of their country. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the wealthier and more aged colonists, were contemned by the great body of the people, whose spirit and courage prompted them to achieve the deliverance which they were less qualified by foresight and patience to await. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their patriotic ardour, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. In seasons of revolution, the wealthy and eminent mingle with their public spirit a less generous concern for their valuable private stakes, and their prospect of sharing in official dignities. The poor have no rich private

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

stakes in their possession; no dazzling preferments within their reach; and consequently less restraint on the full flow of their social affections. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in the town of Boston; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together; and in a few hours the revolt became universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that every purpose of resisting their will was abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious inhabitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervour of the populace. Andros, Dudley, and others to the number of fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Simon Bradstreet; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their chief ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers had undergone but little decay: he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigour and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston to co-operate with their insurgent countrymen. To the assembled crowds a proclamation was read from the balcony of the Court House, detailing the grievances of the colony, and imputing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent; and an assembly of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by an unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed; re-appointed Bradstreet and all the other magistrates who had been in office in the year 1686; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, "that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They announced that Andros, and the councillors who had been imprisoned along with him were

CHAP.
V.

1689.

Insurrec-
tion at
Boston.

Andros de-
posed—

and the
ancient go-
vernment
restored.

BOOK
II.

1689.

detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them from his highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament.¹ What would be the extent of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state, and to what settlement of affairs it would finally conduct, was yet unknown in the colonies.

Connecticut and Rhode Island re-sume their charters.

The example of Massachusetts was followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor who, from the command of one-half of the English colonies, was now reduced to the situation of an imprisoned delinquent. Their charter re-appeared from its concealment; and their democratical constitution, which had not been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly restored with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they had so formally and unequivocally resigned; and now without a moment's scruple or hesitation they protested that it was still in force, and removed as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by retracting every prior declaration of a contrary tenor. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government. In New Hampshire, there assembled a general convention of the inhabitants, who promptly and unanimously determined to reannex their territory to Massachusetts. In pursuance of this purpose, they elected deputies to represent them in the general court at Boston: but King William refused to comply with their wishes, and in the sequel appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire.²

Although the people of Massachusetts had at first distinctly intimated their intention to re-establish by their own act their ancient charter, the cool consideration that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been broached,

¹ Lives of Bradstreet and Phipps, *apud* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. The provisional government at Boston would willingly have released Andros after they had deprived him of power; but the people vehemently insisted that he should be detained in prison. "I am deeply sensible that we have a wolf by the ears," says Danforth, in a letter written on this occasion to Mather, the provincial agent in England.—Hutchinson's Massachusetts Papers.

² Hutchinson. Chalmers.

convinced them that its accomplishment was impracticable, and that the restoration of a charter so formally vacated by the existing authorities of the parent state could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Informed of the convention of estates that had been convoked by the Prince of Orange in England, the revolutionary government of Massachusetts assembled a similar convention of the counties and towns of the province ; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly that although the charter might be restored, it could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England and of the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, these sovereigns were proclaimed in the colony with sincere gratulation and extraordinary solemnity. A letter was soon after addressed, by the king and queen, *To the Colony of Massachusetts*, expressing the royal sanction and ratification of the late transactions of the people, and authorising the present magistrates to retain provisionally the administration of the government, till their majesties, with the assistance of the privy council, should establish it on a basis more permanent and satisfactory. An order was communicated, at the same time, to send Andros and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional agents were deputed by the colony to join Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to prosecute the charges against Andros,—and, above all, to solicit the restoration of the charter.¹

C H A P.
V.

1689.

May 26.

William
and Mary
proclaimed

May 29.

August 12.

But before the colonists were able to ascertain if their favourite desire was to be promoted by the English revolution, they felt the evil effects of this great event, in the consequences of the war that had already broken out between England and France. The rupture between the two parent states quickly extended itself to their possessions in America ; and the colonies of New England and New York were now involved in bloody and desolating warfare with the forces of the French in Canada, and their Indian auxiliaries and allies. The hostilities that were directed against New York belong to another branch of this history. In concert with them, various

War with
the French
and
Indians

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

BOOK II.
 1689. attacks were made by considerable bodies of the Indians in the conclusion of the present year on the settlements and forts in New Hampshire and Maine; and proving successful in some instances, they were productive of the most horrid extremities of savage cruelty. Aware that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadie, the general court of Massachusetts prepared, during the winter, an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. The command of it was intrusted to Sir William Phipps, who, on the dissolution of the late arbitrary government, had returned to New England in the hope of being able to render some service to his countrymen. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed under his command in the following spring, and, almost without opposition, took possession of Port Royal and of the whole province of Acadie: and, within a month after its departure, the fleet returned loaded with plunder enough to defray the whole expense of the expedition. But Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, retorted by sharp and harassing attacks on the remote settlements of New England; and, stimulating the activity of his Indian allies, kept the frontiers in a state of incessant alarm by their predatory incursions. Letters had been written by the general court of Massachusetts to King William, urging the importance of the conquest of Canada, and soliciting his aid in an expedition for that purpose: but he was too much occupied in Europe to extend his exertions to America; and the general court determined to prosecute the enterprise without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men who were to march overland to attack Montreal, while the troops of Massachusetts should repair by sea to Quebec. The fleet destined for this expedition consisted of nearly forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns; and the number of troops on board amounted to two thousand. The command of this armament was entrusted to Sir William Phipps, who, in the conduct of the enterprise, demonstrated his usual courage, and every military qualification except that which experience alone can confer, and without which, in warfare with a civilized enemy, all others commonly prove unavailing. The troops of Connecticut and New York, retarded by defective arrangements, and disappointed of the assistance of the friendly

April, 1690.
 Sir William Phipps conquers Acadie.

Ineffectual expedition against Quebec.

August 9.

Indians who had engaged to furnish them with canoes for crossing the rivers they had to pass, were compelled to retire without attacking Montreal; and, in consequence, the whole force of Canada was concentrated to resist the attack of Phipps. His armament arrived before Quebec so late in the season, that only an immediate assault could have enabled him to carry the place; but by unskilful delay, the time for such an attempt was irretrievably lost. The English were worsted in various sharp encounters, and compelled at length to make a precipitate retreat; and the fleet, after sustaining great damage in the voyage homeward, returned to Boston. Such was the unfortunate issue of an enterprise which involved Massachusetts in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of at least a thousand of her people. The French had so strongly foreboded its success, that they scrupled not to ascribe its discomfiture to the immediate interposition of Heaven, in confounding the devices of the enemy, and depriving them of common sense; and, under this impression, the citizens of Quebec established an annual procession in commemoration of their deliverance. That the conduct of Phipps, however, had been no way obnoxious to censure, may be safely inferred from the fact that a result so disastrous brought no blame upon him, and deprived him in no degree of the favour of his countrymen. And yet the disappointment, in addition to the mortification which it inflicted was attended with very injurious consequences. The general court of Massachusetts had not even anticipated the possibility of miscarriage, and had expected to derive, from the success of the expedition, the same reimbursement of expenses, of which their former enterprise had been productive. "During the absence of the forces," says Cotton Mather, with an expression too whimsical for a matter of so much solemnity, "the wheel of prayer for them in New England had been kept continually going round:" and this attempt to reinforce the expedition by spiritual co-operation had been pursued in combination with an entire neglect of provisions applicable to the possibility of an unsuccessful result. The returning army, finding the government unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on the point of mutinying for their pay; and it was found necessary to issue bills of credit, which the troops con-

CHAP.
V.

1690.

October.

November
13.

BOOK
II.

1690.

sented to accept in place of money. The colony was now in a very depressed and suffering state. Hoping to improve the calamities which they were unable to avoid, the government endeavoured to promote the increase of piety and the reformation of manners; and pressed upon the ministers and the people the duty of strongly resisting that worldliness of mind, which the necessity of contending violently for temporal things is apt to engender. The attacks of the Indians on the eastern frontiers were attended with a degree of success and barbarity that diffused general terror; and the colonists were expecting in this quarter to be driven from their settlements, when, all at once, those savages, of their own accord, proposed a peace of six months, which was accepted by the provincial government with great willingness and devout gratitude. As it was clearly ascertained that the hostile proceedings of the Indians were continually fostered by the intrigues, and rendered the more formidable by the counsel and assistance of the French authorities in Canada, the conquest of this province began to be considered by the people of New England indispensable to their safety and tranquillity. In the hope of prevailing with the king to sanction and embrace this enterprise, as well as for the purpose of aiding the other deputies in the no less interesting application for the restoration of the provincial charter, Sir William Phipps, soon after his return from Quebec, by desire of his countrymen, repaired to England.¹

1691.

In the discharge of the duties of their mission, the deputies appear to have employed every effort that patriotic zeal could prompt, and honourable policy admit, to obtain satisfaction to their constituents by the punishment of their oppressors, and the restitution of their charter. But in both these objects their endeavours were unsuccessful; and the failure (whether justly or not) was generally ascribed to the unbending integrity with which Mather and Phipps rejected every art and intrigue that seemed inconsistent with the honour of their country. It was soon discovered that the king and his ministers were extremely averse to an inquiry into the conduct of Andros and Randolph, and not less so to the restoration of

¹ Neal. Hutchinson. Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada.

the ancient charter of the colony. The conduct of the British court on this occasion presents a confused and disgusting picture of intrigue and duplicity. The deputies were beset by a multitude of importunate councillors and real or pretended partisans;—some doubtless indiscreet, and some probably insincere. They were persuaded, by certain of their advisers, to present to the privy council the charges against Andros *unsigned*,—and assured by others, that in so doing they had *cut the throat of their country*. When they attended to present their charges, they were anticipated by Andros and Randolph, who came prepared with a charge against the colonists of resistance to the authority of the parent state, and rebellious deposition of their legitimate governor. Sir John Somers, the pleader employed by the deputies, consented that they should abandon the situation of accusers and stand on the defensive; and he tendered the unsigned charges as an answer to the accusations of Andros and Randolph. The council hesitated to receive a plea presented in the name of a whole people, and required that some individuals should appear and personally avouch it. “Who was it,” said the Lord President, “that imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest? you say it was the country, and that they rose as one man. But that is nobody. Let us see the persons who will make it their own case.” The deputies thereupon offered to sign the charges, and to undertake the amplest personal responsibility for the acts of their countrymen. But they were deterred from this proceeding by the remonstrances of Sir John Somers, who insisted (for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained) on persisting in the course in which they had begun. Some of the councillors too, protested against the injustice and chicanery of encountering the complaint of a whole nation with objections of such a technical description. “Is not it plain,” they urged, “that the revolution in Massachusetts was carried on exactly in the same manner as the revolution in England? Who seized and imprisoned Chancellor Jeffries? Who secured the garrison of Hull? These were the acts of the people, and not of private individuals.” This difference of opinion on a point of form seems to have been the object which the ministry had studied to promote. Without determining the point, the council interrupted the

CHAP.
V.1691.
Impeachment of
Andros by
the colony
discouraged by
the English
ministers—

BOOK
II.1691.
and dis-
missed.

discussion by a resolution, that the whole matter should be referred to the king; and his majesty soon after signified his pleasure that the complaints of both parties should be dismissed.¹ Thus terminated the impeachment of Andros, in a manner very ill calculated to impress the people of Massachusetts with respect for the justice of the British government. They had soon after the mortification of seeing him add reward to impunity, and honoured with the appointment of governor of Virginia and Maryland. They had previously seen Dudley, whom they had imprisoned and sent to England with Andros, appointed chief justice of New York, where he condemned to death the unfortunate Leisler, who had excited the first revolutionary movement in that colony in favour of King William.²

The king
refuses to
restore the
ancient
constitu-
tion of
Massachu-
setts.

The deputies finding that the House of Commons, though at first disposed to annul the judicial decree against the charter of Massachusetts, had been persuaded by the arguments of Somers and other lawyers who had seats in the house to depart from this purpose,—and that the king was resolved not to restore the old charter,—employed every effort to obtain at least a restitution of the privileges it had contained. But William and his ministers, though restrained from imitating the tyrannical proceedings of the former reign, were eager and determined to avail themselves of whatever acquisitions these proceedings might have gained to the royal prerogative; and finding that the crown had acquired a legal pretext to exercise much greater authority over the colony than had been reserved in its original constitution; they scrupled not to take advantage of this pretext without regard to the tyrannical nature of the measures by which it had been obtained. The restoration of their ancient privilege of electing their own municipal officers was ardently desired by the colonists, and demanded by the deputies with a warmth which the king would proba-

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

² Randolph was not sent back to America. He received, however, an appointment in the West Indies, where he died, retaining, it is said, his dislike of the people of New England to the last. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of New England. Cranfield, the tyrant of New Hampshire, was appointed collector of customs at Barbadoes. He repented of his conduct in New England, and endeavoured to atone for it by showing all the kindness in his power to the New England traders who resorted to Barbadoes.—Belknap.

bly have resented as disrespectful to himself, if he had not felt himself bound to excuse the irritation provoked by his own injustice. He adhered inflexibly to his determination of retaining, as far as possible, every advantage, however surreptitious, that fortune had put into his hands, and at length a new charter was framed on principles that widely departed from the primæval constitution of the colony, and transferred to the crown many valuable privileges that had originally belonged to the people. By this charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, together with the conquered province of Acadie or Nova Scotia, were united together under one jurisdiction—an arrangement that was by no means satisfactory to the parties included in it; for Plymouth, which had earnestly solicited a separate establishment, was forcibly annexed to Massachusetts; and New Hampshire, which had as earnestly petitioned to be included in this annexation was made a separate province.¹ The appointment of the governor, deputy governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was reserved to the crown. Twenty-eight councillors were directed to be chosen by the House of Assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation. The governor was empowered to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly at pleasure; to nominate, exclusively, all military officers, and (with the consent of his council) all the judges and other officers of the law. To the governor was reserved a negative on the laws and acts of the general assembly and council; and all laws enacted by these bodies and approved by the governor were appointed to be transmitted to England for the royal approbation; and if disallowed within the space of three years, they were to become absolutely void. Liberty of conscience and divine worship, which had not been mentioned in the old charter, was, by the present one, expressly granted to all persons except Roman catholics.²

CHAP.
V.
1691.

October 7.
Tenor of
the new
charter.

¹ The union, so much desired by the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was overruled by the interest, and for the convenience, of Samuel Allen, a merchant in London, to whom Mason's heirs had sold their claim to the soil of New Hampshire. He was appointed the first governor of the province; and employing his authority in vexatious but unsuccessful attempts to extract pecuniary profit from his purchased claim, rendered himself extremely odious to the people. Belknap. He was superseded by Lord Bellamont in 1698.

² Mather. Life of Sir W. Phipps. Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap.

BOOK
II.

1691.

The innovations that were thus introduced into their ancient constitution, excited much discontent in the minds of the people of Massachusetts; the more especially because the enlargement of royal authority was not attended with a proportional communication of the royal protection. At the very time when the king thus extended the limits of his prerogative at the expense of popular liberty, he found himself constrained, by the urgency of his affairs in Europe, to refuse the assistance which the people had besought from him to repel the hostilities of the Indians and of the French government in Canada. The situation of the provinces of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were permitted to reassume all their ancient privileges, rendered the injustice with which Massachusetts was treated more flagrant and irritating. Though legal technicalities might be thought by lawyers and special pleaders to warrant the advantageous distinction which those states enjoyed,—a conclusion so illiberal was utterly repugnant to the enlarged views of justice and equity which ought to regulate the policy of a legislator. Only mistake on the one hand, or artifice on the other, could be supposed to have procured to Connecticut and Rhode Island an advantage that made the treatment of Massachusetts more invidious: and a dangerous lesson was taught to the colonial communities when they were thus given to understand that it was their own vigilant dexterity and successful intrigue, or the blunders of the parent state, that they were to rely on as the safeguards of their rights. The injustice of the policy now applied to Massachusetts was rendered still more glaringly apparent by the very different treatment obtained by the powerful corporation of the city of London, whose charter, though annulled with the same solemnity, and on grounds as plausible, as the ancient charter of Massachusetts, was restored by a legislative act immediately after the revolution. Nor was any real political advantage acquired by the English government from its violation of just and equitable principles. The power that was wrested from the colonists and appropriated by the crown, was quite inadequate to the formation of an efficient royal party in the province. The appointment of the governor and other officers was regarded as a badge of dependence, instead of forming a bond of union. The popular assemblies retained sufficient in-

fluence over the governors to curb them in the execution of obnoxious measures, and sufficient power to restrain them from making any serious inroad on the constitution. It is a remarkable fact that the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were not a little promoted by the pernicious counsels and erroneous information transmitted to the English ministry by the governors of those provinces, in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the king.

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the new charter was regarded, the ministers of William judged it prudent to wave in the outset the full exercise of the invidious prerogative, and desired the provincial deputies to name the person whom they considered most likely to be acceptable to their countrymen as governor of Massachusetts: and the deputies having united in the nomination of Sir William Phipps, the appointment to this office was bestowed on him accordingly. This act of courtesy was attended with a degree of success, in mollifying the ill humour of the people, that attests the high estimation in which Phipps was held by his countrymen: for on his arrival at Boston, though some discontent was betrayed, and several of the members of the general court warmly insisted that the new charter should be absolutely rejected,¹ yet the great body of the people received him with acclamations; and a majority of the general court resolved that the charter should be heartily accepted, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their worthy governor and of Increase Mather, whose services they acknowledged with grateful commemoration. The new governor hastened to approve himself worthy of the favourable regard thus expressed for him. Having convoked the general court of the province, he addressed the members in a short but characteristic speech, recommend-

C H A P.
V.
1691.

Sir William
Phipps
governor.

May,
1692.

¹ Mather and the other deputies, when they found it impossible to obtain an alteration of the new charter, proposed at first to reject it altogether, and to institute a process for trying the validity of the judgment pronounced on the *quo warranto*. They were deterred from this proceeding by the solemn assurance of Treby, Somers, and the two chief justices of England (Holt and Pollexfen), that if the judgment were reversed, a new *quo warranto* would be issued, and undoubtedly followed by a sentence exempt from all ground of challenge. These learned persons assured the deputies that the colonists, by erecting judicatories, constituting a house of representatives, and incorporating colleges, had forfeited their charter, which gave no sanction to such acts of authority. Hutchinson.

B O O K

II.

1692.

ing to them the composition of a code of good laws with all the expedition they could exert. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may make yourselves as easy as you will for ever. Consider what may have a tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honour and interest of the crown, I'll pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted of this office. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government." His conduct seems in general to have corresponded with these professions.¹

And yet, the administration of Sir William Phipps was neither long nor prosperous. Though he might give his sanction as governor to popular laws, it was not in his power to guard them from being rescinded by the crown: and this fate soon befel a law that was passed by the provincial assembly, declaring the colonists exempt from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own representatives, and asserting their right to share all the privileges of Magna Charta. He found the province involved in a distressing war with the French and Indians, and in the still more formidable calamity of that delusion which has been termed *the New England witchcraft*. When the Indians were informed of the elevation of Sir William Phipps to the office of governor of Massachusetts, they were struck with amazement at the fortunes of the man whose humble origin they perfectly well knew, and with whom they had familiarly associated but a few years before in the obscurity of his primitive condition. Impressed with a high opinion of his courage and resolution, and a superstitious dread of that fortune that seemed destined to surmount every obstacle and prevail over every disadvantage, they would willingly have made peace with him and his countrymen, but were induced to continue the war by the artifices and intrigues of the French. A few months after his arrival, the governor, at the head of a small army, marched to Pemmaquid, on the Merimack river, and there caused to be erected a fort of consider-

¹ Mather. Life of Phipps. Neal. Hutchinson.

able strength, and calculated by its situation to form a powerful barrier to the province, and to overawe the neighbouring tribes of Indians, and interrupt their mutual communication. The beneficial effect of this operation was experienced in the following year, when the Indians sent ambassadors to the fort at Pemmaquid, and there at length concluded with English commissioners a treaty of peace, by which they renounced for ever the interests of the French, and pledged themselves to perpetual amity with the inhabitants of New England.¹ The colonists, who had suffered severely from the recent depredations of these savages,² and were still labouring under the burdens entailed on them by former wars, were not slow to embrace the first overtures of peace: and yet they murmured with great discontent and ill humour at the measure to which they were principally indebted for the deliverance they had so ardently desired. The expense of building the fort and of maintaining its garrison and stores, occasioned an addition to the existing taxes, which provoked their impatience. The party who had opposed submission to the new charter, eagerly promoted every complaint against the conduct of a system which they regarded with rooted aversion; and laboured so successfully on this occasion to vilify the person and government of Sir William Phipps in the eyes of his countrymen, that his popularity sustained a shock from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. The people were easily induced to regard the increase of taxation as the effect of the recent abridgment of their political privileges, and to believe that if they had re-

1693.

¹ Neal. Hutchinson.

² The situation of the people of New Hampshire, in particular, had become so irksome and dangerous, that at one time they appear to have entertained the purpose of abandoning the province. Belknap. When Adam Smith declared that "Nothing can be more contemptible than an Indian war in North America," he alluded to a period much later than this, and in which the proportions between the numbers of the savage and civilized races had undergone a great alteration. Even then, the observation was just only in so far as respected apprehensions of conquest: for no hostilities were ever more fraught with cruelty, misery, and horror, than those of the North American Indians. When Chalmers pronounced the Indians "a foe that has never proved dangerous except to the effeminate, the factious, and the cowardly," he was transported into this injustice by the desire of lowering the reputation of the people of New Hampshire—a portion of the American population who seem to have excited in a peculiar degree his malevolence and spleen. New Hampshire has been more justly characterized by an American historian as "a nursery of stern heroism; producing men of firmness and valour, who can traverse mountains and deserts, encounter hardships, and face an enemy without terror."—Belknap.

BOOK II.
1693. tained their ancient control over the officers of government, the administration of their affairs might have been more economically conducted. But another cause, which we have already cursorily remarked, and must now more attentively consider, rendered the minds of the colonists, at this time, unusually susceptible of gloomy impressions, and of suspicions equally irritating and unreasonable.

The New
England
witchcraft.

The belief of witchcraft was at this period almost universal in christian countries; and the existence and criminality of the practice were recognised in the penal code of every civilized state. Persons suspected of being witches and wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and put to death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe; and, in particular, but a few years before the present period, Sir Matthew Hale, a man highly and justly renowned for the strength of his understanding, the variety of his knowledge, and the eminent christian graces that adorned his character, had, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of men and women to die for this offence, at an assize in Suffolk.¹ The reality of witchcraft had never yet been questioned; nor were there any individuals to whom that reality appeared unimportant or incredible, except those who regarded the spiritual world altogether as a mere speculation, vague, visionary, and delusive. Among other believers in the practice, were some of the unfortunate beings themselves who were put to death as witches. Instigated by fraud, folly, or cruelty, or possessed by demoniacal frenzy, some of these unhappy persons professed more or less openly to hold communication with the powers of darkness; and, by the administration of subtle poisons,—by disturbing the imagination of their victims,—or by an actual appropriation of that unhallowed agency which scripture assures us did once operate in the world, and which no equal authority has ever proved to be

¹ Howell's State Trials. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was still commemorated in an annual sermon at Huntingdon. Johnson's Works, Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth. The seceders in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh in 1743 (reprinted at Glasgow in 1766) denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin.—Arnot's Criminal Trials in Scotland.

The last executions for witchcraft in the British dominions were at Huntingdon in 1716, and in Sutherlandshire in 1722.—Arnot.

extinguished, they committed crimes and inflicted injuries which were punished, sometimes, doubtless, frequently perhaps, under an erroneous name. The colonists of New England, participating in the general belief of this practice, regarded it with a degree of abhorrence and indignation corresponding to the piety for which they were so remarkably distinguished. Their experience in America had tended to strengthen the sentiments on this subject which they brought with them from Europe; for they found the belief of witchcraft firmly rooted among the Indian tribes, and the practice (or what was so termed and esteemed) prevailing extensively, and with perfect impunity, among those people whom, as heathens, they regarded as the worshippers of demons. Their conviction of the reality of witchcraft was, not unreasonably, confirmed by such evidence of the universal assent of mankind; and their resentment of its enormity proportionally increased by the honour and acceptance which they saw it enjoy under the shelter of superstitions that denied and dishonoured the true God. The first trials for witchcraft in New England occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his diary, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662, and remarks, that, after one of them was hanged, a young woman who had been bewitched was restored to health. For more than twenty years after, few instances occurred, and little notice has been preserved of similar prosecutions. But, in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. An account of the whole transaction was published; and so generally were the wise and good persuaded of the justice of the proceeding, that Richard Baxter, the celebrated non-conformist divine, wrote a preface to the narrative, in which he scrupled not to declare every one who refused to believe it an obdurate Sadducee. The attention of the people being thus strongly excited, and their suspicions awakened and attracted into this dangerous channel, the charges of witchcraft became gradually more frequent, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered

BOOK II. New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness.

1693. In the beginning of the year 1692, Massachusetts was visited with an epidemical complaint resembling epilepsy, which, the physicians, unable to explain or cure, readily imputed to supernatural operation. Some young women, and among others the daughter and niece of Paris, the minister of Salem, were first attacked by this distemper, and induced by the suggestions of their medical attendants to ascribe it to witchcraft. The delusion was encouraged by a perverted application of the means best fitted to strengthen and enlighten the understanding. Solemn fasts were observed, and assemblies convoked for extraordinary prayer; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The imaginations of the patients, disturbed by morbid sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, readily prompted accusations against particular individuals as the authors of the calamity. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing epidemic, frequently pondered by timorous and susceptible persons, were propagated with amazing rapidity; and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was quickened by the dread of the mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise; and this appalling dread, enfeebling the reason of its victims, led them to confound the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of sound experience. To think earnestly upon any thing, is to give it power over in the mind: and to dread it, is partly to realize and still farther to invite its dominion. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific,¹ attended the cases of the sufferers, and were sup-

¹ Swelling of the throat, in particular, now well known as a hysterical symptom, was considered at this time a horrible prodigy. Medical science was still deprived by an admixture of gross superstition. The touch of a king was believed to be capable of curing some diseases; and astrology formed a part of the course of medi-

posed to prove beyond a doubt that the disorder was no natural ailment; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who augmented the malignity of their disease by the darkness and horror of the source to which they traced it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into this dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity, by the punishment of its guilty authors. These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intimation by which they were supposed to be communicated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual occasioning his sufferings, no consideration of previous character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been absolutely rejected by human tribunals—that their truth was judged incapable of ordinary proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So general and inveterate was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that none dared, even if they had been disposed, openly to deny it; and even the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption that the apparitions of themselves, described by their accusers, had really been seen,—and reduced to plead that their semblance had been assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons.

cal study,—because the efficacy of drugs was believed to be promoted or impeded by planetary influence. “In consequence of the greater nervous irritability of women,” says Dugald Stewart, “their muscular system seems to possess a greater degree of that mobility by which the principle of sympathetic imitation operates.” The first and the most numerous of the supposed victims of witchcraft in New England were young women.

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It was maintained, however, by Stoughton, the deputy governor of Massachusetts, most gratuitously, but, unhappily to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could assume only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him, and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of those charges; and seeming to establish them in some cases, was thought to confirm them in all. Some of the accused, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing their guilt; recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their tempters and associates. In order to beget favour and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their own accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices. These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound sense, offered impunity to all who would confess the crime and betray their associates, while they inflexibly doomed to death every accused person who maintained his innocence. Thus, one accusation produced a multitude of others,—the accused becoming accusers and witnesses, and hastening to escape from the danger by involving other persons in it. From Salem, where its main fury was exerted, the evil spread over the province of Massachusetts; and wherever it was able to penetrate, it effectually subverted the happiness and security of life. The sword of the law was wrested from the hand of dispassionate justice, and committed to the grasp of the wildest fear and fury. Alarm and terror pervaded all ranks of society. The first and the favourite objects of accusation had been ill-favoured old women, whose dismal aspect, exciting horror and aversion instead of tenderness and compassion, was reckoned a proof of their guilt, and seemed to designate the appropriate agents of mysterious and unearthly wickedness. But the sphere of accusation was progressively enlarged to such a degree, that at length neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, could afford the slightest safeguard against a charge of witchcraft. Even irrational crea-

tures were involved in this fatal charge ; and a dog belonging to a gentleman accused of witchcraft, was hanged as an accomplice of its master. Under the dominion of terror, all mutual confidence seemed to be destroyed, and the kindest feelings of human nature trampled under foot. The nearest relations became each other's accusers ; and one unhappy man, in particular, was condemned and executed on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who appear to have impeached him merely, with the view of preserving themselves. Many respectable persons fled from the colony : others, maintaining their innocence, were capitally convicted, and died with a serene courage and piety that affected, but could not disabuse, the spectators. The accounts that have been preserved of the trials of these unfortunate persons, present a most revolting and humiliating picture of frenzy, folly, and injustice. There were received in evidence against the prisoners, accounts of losses and mishaps that had befallen the accusers or their cattle (in some cases, as long as twenty years before the trial) after some meeting or some disagreement with the prisoners. Against others, it was deposed that they had performed greater feats of strength, and walked from one place to another in a shorter space of time than the accusers judged possible without diabolical assistance. But the main article of proof was the spectral apparitions of the persons of the supposed witches to the eyes of their accusers during the paroxysms of their malady. The accusers sometimes declared that they could not see the prisoners at the bar of the court ; which was construed into a proof of the immediate exertion of Satanic influence in rendering their persons invisible to the eyes of those who were to testify against them. The bodies of the prisoners were commonly examined for the discovery of what were termed witch-marks ; and as the examiners did not know what they were seeking for, and yet earnestly desired to find it, every little puncture or discoloration of the skin was easily believed to be the impress of diabolical touch. In general the accusers fell into fits, or complained of violent uneasiness at the sight of the prisoners. On the trial of Burroughs, a clergyman of the highest respectability, some of the witnesses being affected in this

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manner, the judges replied to his protestations of innocence, by asking if he would venture to deny that these persons, were then labouring under the malignant influence of the powers of hell. He answered that he did not deny it, but that he denied having any concern with it. "If you were not a friend of the devil," replied the presiding judge, "he would not exert himself in this manner to prevent these persons from speaking against you." When a prisoner in his defence uttered any thing that seemed to move the audience in his favour, some of the accusers were ready to exclaim that they saw the devil standing by and putting the words in his mouth; and every feeling of humanity was chased away by such absurd and frantic exclamations. While one of the convicts, at the foot of the gallows, was addressing a last assurance of his innocence to the spectators, the executioner sat by him smoking tobacco; and some of the smoke having been wafted by the wind into the eyes of the dying man, the accusers thereupon set up a shout of brutal triumph, and exclaimed, "see how the devil wraps him in smoke." Some fraud and malignity undoubtedly mixed with sincere misapprehension in stimulating these prosecutions. The principle that was practically avowed in the courts of justice, that in cases of witchcraft, accusation was equivalent to conviction, presented the most subtle and powerful excitements to the indulgence of natural ferocity, and the gratification of fantastic terror and suspicion: and there is but too much reason to believe that rapacity, malice, and revenge, were not vainly invited to seize this opportunity of satiating their appetites in confiscation and bloodshed. So strong meanwhile was the popular delusion, that even the detection of manifest perjury on one of the trials proved insufficient to weaken the credit of the most unsupported accusation. Sir William Phipps, the governor; Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor; and the most learned and eminent persons both among the clergy and laity of the province, partook and promoted the general infatuation. Nothing but an outrageous zeal against witchcraft seemed capable of assuring any individual of the safety of his life; and temptations that but too frequently overpowered human courage and virtue, arose from the conviction impressed on every person that he must make choice

of the situation of the oppressed or the oppressor. The *afflicted* (as the accusers were termed) and their witnesses and partizans, began to form a numerous and united party in every community, which none dared to oppose, and which none who once joined or supported could forsake with impunity. A magistrate who had for some time taken an active part in examining and committing the supposed delinquents beginning to suspect that these proceedings originated in some fatal mistake, showed an inclination to discourage them; and was instantly assailed with a charge of witchcraft against himself. A constable, who had apprehended many of the accused, was smitten with a similar suspicion, and hastily declared that he would meddle in this matter no farther. Instantly aware of the danger he had provoked, he attempted to fly the country, but was overtaken in his flight by the vengeance of the accusers; and, having been brought back to Salem, was tried for witchcraft, convicted, and executed. Some persons, whom the instinct of self-preservation had induced to accuse their friends or relations, being touched with remorse, proclaimed the wrong they had done, and retracted their testimony. They were convicted of relapse into witchcraft, and died the victims of their returning virtue.

The evil at length enforced its own cure, by the intolerable height to which it mounted. About fifteen months had elapsed since it first broke forth; and so far from being extinguished or abated, it was growing every day more formidable. Of twenty-eight persons who had been capitally convicted, nineteen had been hanged; and one, for refusing to plead, had been *pressed to death*: — the only instance in which this English legal barbarity was ever inflicted in North America. The number of the accusers and pardoned witnesses multiplied with alarming rapidity. The sons of Governor Bradstreet, and other individuals of eminent station and character, had fled from a charge belied by the whole tenor of their lives. An hundred and fifty persons were in prison on the same charge, and impeachments of no less than two hundred others had been presented to the magistrate. Men began to ask Where this would end? The constancy and piety with which the unfortunate victims had died, produced an impression on the minds of the people which, though counter-

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balanced at the time by the testimony of the pardoned witnesses, gained strength from the reflection that these witnesses had purchased their lives by their testimony, while the persons against whom they had borne evidence had sealed their own testimony with their blood. It was happy, perhaps, for the country, that while the minds of the people were awakening to a strain of reflection thus reasonable and humane, some of the accusers carried the audacity of their arraignment to such a pitch, as to prefer charges of witchcraft against Lady Phipps, the governor's wife, and against certain of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather, the most pious minister and popular citizen of Massachusetts. This circumstance at once opened the eyes of Sir William Phipps and Dr. Mather; so far, at least, as to induce a strong suspicion that many of the late proceedings had been rash and indefensible. They felt that they had dealt with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that others should deal with them. A kindred sentiment beginning also to prevail in the public mind, encouraged the resolute exertion by which a citizen of Boston succeeded in stemming the fury of these terrible proscriptions. Having been charged with witchcraft by some persons at Andover, he anticipated an arrest, by promptly arresting his accusers for defamation, and swearing against them a claim of damages to the amount of a thousand pounds. The effect of this vigorous proceeding surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It seemed as if a spell that had been cast over the people of Andover was dissolved by one bold touch; the frenzy subsided in a moment, and witchcraft was heard of in that town no more. The impression was quickly diffused throughout the province; and the influence of it appeared at the very next assize that was held for the trial of witchcraft, when, of fifty prisoners who were tried on such evidence as had been formerly deemed sufficient, the accusers could obtain the conviction of no more than three, who were immediately reprieved by the governor. These acquittals were doubtless in part produced by a change which the public opinion underwent as to the sufficiency of what was denominated *spectral evidence* of witchcraft. An assembly of the most eminent divines of the province, convoked for the purpose by the governor, had, after due consi-

deration, pronounced and promulgated as their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others, was no proof of their being witches," and that it was by no means inconsistent with scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched. The ministers, nevertheless, united in strongly recommending to the government the rigorous prosecution of all persons still accused of witchcraft. But the judgment they had pronounced respecting the validity of the customary evidence, rendered it almost impossible to procure a judicial conviction; and produced, at the same time, so complete a revolution in the public mind respecting the late executions, that charges of witchcraft were found to excite no other sentiments than disgust and horror against the parties who preferred them. The dark cloud that had overcast the peace and happiness of the colony vanished entirely away, and universal shame and remorse succeeded to the frenzy that had previously prevailed. Even those who continued to believe in the reality of the diabolical influence of which the accusers had complained, were satisfied that most, if not all, of the unfortunate convicts had been unjustly condemned, and that their accusers, in charging them, had been deluded by the same infernal agency by which their sufferings were occasioned. Many of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they had formerly given, both against themselves and others; apologising for their perjury by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. These testimonies were not able to shake the opinion which was still retained by a considerable party both among the late accusers and the public at large, that much genuine witchcraft had mixed with the recent malady, whether the real culprits had yet been detected or not. This opinion was supported in treatises written at the time by Dr. Mather and other eminent divines. But it was found impossible ever after to reiterate prosecutions that excited such painful remembrances, and had been rendered instrumental to so much barbarity and injustice. Sir William Phipps, soon after he had reprieved the three persons

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last convicted,—ordered all who were in custody on charges of witchcraft to be released; and, in order to prevent the dissensions that might arise from the retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any participation they might have had in the recent prosecutions. The surviving victims of the delusion, however, and the relatives of those who had perished, were enabled to enjoy whatever consolation they could derive from the sympathy of their countrymen and the earnest regret of their persecutors. The house of assembly appointed a general fast and supplication, “that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments.” Sewell, one of the judges who had presided on the trials at Salem, stood up in his place in church on this occasion,¹ and implored the prayers of the people that the errors which he had committed, might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on his country, his family, or himself. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach of wrongful bloodshed on their native land. Paris, the clergyman who had instituted the first prosecutions, and promoted all the rest, found himself exposed to a resentment not loud or violent, but fixed and deep; and was at length generally shunned by his fellow-citizens, and entirely forsaken by his congregation. He appears, throughout the whole proceedings, to have acted with perfect sincerity, but to have been transported, by a violent temper, and a strong conviction of the rightfulness of the ends he pursued, into the adoption of means for their attainment, inconsistent with honour, justice, or humanity. While the delusion lasted, his violence was applauded as zeal in a righteous cause, and little heed was given to accusations of artifice and partiality in conducting what was believed to be a controversy with the devil. But when it appeared that all

¹ When Stoughton, the deputy-governor and chief justice, was informed of this, he “observed for himself that when he sat in judgment he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding; and although it might appear afterwards that he had been in error, yet he saw no necessity of a public acknowledgment of it.”—Hutchinson.

these efforts had in reality been directed to the shedding of innocent blood, his popularity gave place to incurable odium and disgust. Perceiving, too late, how dreadfully erroneous his conduct had been, he hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But as the people declared their fixed resolution never more to attend the ministry of an individual who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge and depart from Salem.¹

Thus terminated a scene of fury and delusion that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue, into the slaves or associates, the terrified dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins. Among the various evil consequences that resulted from the preceding events, not the least important was the effect they produced on the minds of the Indian tribes, who began to conceive a very unfavourable opinion of the people that could inflict such barbarities on their own countrymen, and of the religion that seemed to instigate its professors to their mutual destruction. This impression was the more disadvantageous to the colonists, as there had existed for some time a competition between their missionaries and the priests of the French settlements, for the instruction and conversion of the Indians,² who invariably embraced the political interests of that

¹ Mather. Life of Sir William Phipps. Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits. Neal. Hutchinson. Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World. Oldmixon. "I find these entries in the MS. Diary of Judge Sewell: 'Went to Salem, where, in the meeting-house, the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; a very great assembly. 'Twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.'" But in the margin is written, in a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, *Vae, vae, vae!*" Holmes. "It is likely," says Wynne, "that this frenzy contributed to work off the ill humours of the New England people,—to dissipate their bigotry,—and to bring them to a more free use of their reason."

² It was a corrupted edition of Christianity that was preached to the Indians by the French priests—a system that harmonised too well with the passions and sentiments which genuine Christianity most strongly condemns. By rites and devices, material and yet mysterious, it brought some portion of the spiritual doctrine of christianity within the range of the coarse capacity of the Indians, and facilitated the transition from their ancient and especial system of witchcraft and idolatry: while, by stigmatizing their enemies as heretics, it afforded additional sanction and incitement to hatred, fury, and cruelty. The French priests who ministered amongst the

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nation whose religious instructors were most popular among them. The French did not fail to improve to their own advantage, the odious spectacle that the late frenzy of the people of New England had exhibited ; and to this end they laboured with such diligence and success, that in the following year, when Sir William Phipps paid a visit to the tribes with whom he had concluded the treaty of Pemmaquid, and endeavoured to unite them in a solid and lasting friendship with the colonists, he found them more firmly wedded than ever to the interests of the French, and prepossessed with sentiments unfavourable in the highest degree to the formation of friendly relations with the English. To his proposition of renewing the treaty of peace, they readily agreed ; but all the urgency which he exerted to induce them to desist from their correspondence with the French, proved unavailing. They refused to listen to the missionaries who accompanied him ; having learned from the French priests to believe that the English were heretics, and enemies to the true religion of Christ. Some of them openly remarked to Phipps, that since they had received the instructions of the French, witchcraft had lost all perceptible existence among their tribes, and that they had no desire to recall its presence by communication with a people among whom it was reputed to prevail still more extensively than it had ever done with themselves.¹

Numerous symptoms, indeed, betokened the renewal of war between the colonists and the Indians, which accordingly broke out very soon after,—and was perhaps accelerated by the departure of Sir William Phipps from New England. The administration of this officer, though in the main highly and justly popular, had not escaped some degree of reproach. The discontents excited by the taxation imposed for the support of the fortification at Pemmaquid, concurring with the resentments and enmities which the prosecutions for witchcraft gave rise to, produced a party in the province who laboured on every occasion to thwart the measures and de-

Indians were Jesuits ; and their maxim, that it was unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, proved but too congenial to the savage ethics of their pupils.

¹ Neal.

preciate the character of the governor. Finding their exertions in Massachusetts insufficient to deprive him of the esteem which a great majority of the people entertained for him, these adversaries transmitted articles of impeachment against him to England, and petitioned the king and council for his recall and punishment. King William having declared that he would hear the cause himself, an order was communicated to the governor to meet his accusers in the royal presence at Whitehall; in compliance with which, Phipps set sail for England, carrying with him an address of the assembly expressive of the strongest attachment to his person, and beseeching that the province might not be deprived of the services of so able and meritorious an officer. On his appearance at court, his accusers vanished, and their charges were dismissed; and having rendered a satisfactory account of his administration, he was preparing to return to his government, when a malignant fever put an end to his life. As a soldier, Phipps, if not pre-eminently skilful, was active and brave; as a civil ruler, he was upright, magnanimous, and disinterested. It was remarked of him, as of Aristides, that *he was never visibly elated by any mark of honour or confidence that he received from his countrymen*: nor could all his success and advancement ever make him ashamed to revert to the humility of the condition from which he had originally sprung. In the midst of a fleet that was conveying an armament which he commanded on a military expedition, he called to him some young soldiers and sailors who were standing on the deck of his vessel, and pointing to a particular spot on the shore, said, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago;—you see to what advancement Almighty God has brought me: do you then learn to fear God and be honest; and you also may rise as I have done." His natural temper was somewhat hasty and impetuous; and the occasional ebullitions of this infirmity, which his distinguished rank rendered more conspicuous, contributed with the other causes which we have remarked, to attain the brightness of his reputation.¹

On the departure of Sir William Phipps, the supreme

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¹ Mather. Life of Sir W. Phipps. Neal.

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authority in Massachusetts devolved on Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, who continued to exercise it during the three following years; the king being so much engrossed with his wars and negotiations on the continent of Europe, that it was not till after the peace of Ryswick that he found leisure even to nominate a successor to Phipps. During this period, the colony was much disturbed by internal dissension, and harassed by the dangers and calamities of war. The passions bequeathed by the prosecutions for witchcraft (which Stoughton had zealously promoted) continued long to divide and agitate the people; and the political factions which had sprung up during the administration of Phipps, prevailed with increased virulence after his departure. The mutual animosities of the colonists had attained such a height, that they seemed to be on the point of kindling a civil war; and the operations of the provincial government were cramped and obstructed at the very time when the highest exertions of vigour and unanimity were requisite to encounter the hostile enterprises of the French and the Indians. Incited by their French allies, the Indians recommenced the war with the usual suddenness and fury of their military operations. Wherever surprise or superior numbers enabled them to prevail over parties of the colonists, or detached plantations, their victory was signalised by the extremities of barbarous cruelty.¹ The colony of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, once more reverted to the dominion of France. It had been annexed, as

¹ Numerous cases are related by the provincial historians of the torture and slavery inflicted by the Indians on their captives, and of the desperate efforts of many of the colonists to defend themselves and their families, or to escape from the hands of their savage enemies. Wherever the Indians could penetrate, war was carried into the bosom of every family. The case of a Mrs. Dunstan, of Haverhill, in Massachusetts, is remarkable. She was made prisoner by a party of twelve Indians, and, with the infant of which she had been delivered but a week before, and the nurse who attended her, forced to accompany them on foot into the woods. Her infant's head was dashed to pieces on a tree before her eyes; and she and the nurse, after fatiguing marches in the depth of winter, found themselves at an Indian hut, a hundred and fifty miles from their home. Here they were informed that they were to be made slaves for life, but were first to be conducted to a distant settlement, where they would be stripped, scourged, and forced to run the gauntlet naked between two files of the whole tribe to which their captors belonged. This intelligence determined Mrs. Dunstan to make an attempt that would issue either in her liberation or her death. Early in the morning, having awaked her nurse and a young man, who was their fellow-prisoner,—she got possession of an axe, and, with the assistance of her two companions, despatched no fewer than ten Indians in their sleep; the other two awoke and escaped. Mrs. Dunstan returned in safety with her companions to Haver-

we have seen, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and governed hitherto by officers deputed from the seat of the superior authority at Boston. But Port Royal (or Annapolis, as it was afterwards termed) having been now recaptured by a French armament, the whole settlement revolted, and re-annexed itself to the French dominions—a change that was ratified by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick. A much more serious loss was sustained by Massachusetts in the following year; when, in consequence of a combined assault by the French and Indians, the fort erected by Sir William Phipps at Pemmaquid was compelled to surrender to their arms, and was levelled with the ground. Chubb, the commander of this fort, had at first replied to the summons of the invaders, that *he would not surrender it even though the sea were covered with French vessels, and the land with Indian allies of France*: and the capitulation to which he finally acceded, was forced upon him by the terror of his garrison, to whom the French commander announced that, in case of an assault, they would be abandoned to the fury of his Indian auxiliaries. This severe and unexpected blow spread equal surprise and consternation: and the alarming consciousness of the danger that was menaced by the loss of a barrier of such importance, rebuked in the strongest manner the factious discontent that had murmured at the expense of maintaining it. These apprehensions were but too well justified by the increased ravages of Indian warfare, and the increased insolence and fury with which a triumph so signal inspired the Indian tribes. Stoughton and his council exerted the utmost promptitude and vigour to repair or retaliate the disaster, and despatched forces to attack the enemy both by land and sea; but miscarriage attended both these expeditions, and, at the close of the year, the provincial troops had been unable, by the slightest advantage, to check the assaults of the enemy, or to cheer the drooping spirits of their countrymen. In the follow-

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hill, and was rewarded for her intrepidity by the legislature of Massachusetts.—Dwight's Travels.

Whatever other cruelties the Indians might exercise on the bodies of their captives, it is observable that they never attempted to violate the chastity of women, and that they respected modesty in so far as was consistent with the infliction of torture. Belknap. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them whenever they fell into their hands. Ibid.

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ing year,¹ the province, after being severely harassed by the inroads of the Indians, was alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable invasion which the French were preparing, with a view to its entire subjugation. The commander of a French squadron which was cruising on the northern coasts of America had concerted with Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, a joint attack by sea and land, with the whole united force of the French and Indians on the colony of Massachusetts; and little doubt was entertained of the conquest of this people, and the complete destruction of their settlements. On the first intelligence of this design, all the dauntless and determined spirit of New England seemed again to awake; and, factious animosities being swallowed up by more generous passion, the people vied with each other in zealous co-operation with the energetic measures by which Stoughton prepared to repel the threatened assault. He caused the forts around Boston to be repaired, the whole militia of the province to be embodied and trained with the strictest discipline, and every other precaution conducive to an effectual defence to be promptly employed. In order to ascertain, and, if possible, anticipate the operations of the enemy by land, he despatched a considerable force to scour the eastern frontiers of the province; and these troops, encountering a detachment of the Indians, who had assembled to join the French invaders, after a short engagement, gave them a complete defeat. This check, though in itself of little importance, so deranged the plans of the governor of Canada as to induce him to defer the invasion of Massachusetts by land till the following year; and the French admiral finding his fleet weakened by a storm, and apprised of the vigorous preparations for his reception, judged it prudent, in like manner, to abandon the projected naval invasion. During the whole of this protracted contest, Connecticut and Rhode Island, though exempted from territorial ravage, had borne a share in the

¹ In the midst of these troubles died, this year, full of days and honour, the venerable Simon Bradstreet, the last survivor of the original planters,—for many years governor,—and termed by his countrymen the Nestor of New England. He died in his ninety-fifth year; earnestly desiring to be at rest,—insomuch (says Cotton Mather) that it seemed as if death were conferred upon him, instead of life being taken from him.

burdens of war. Connecticut in particular was distinguished by the promptitude and liberality of the succours which she extended to the warfare of her friends, both in the eastern parts of New England, and on the frontiers of New York.¹

In the commencement of the following year, intelligence was received in America of the treaty of Ryswick, by which peace had been re-established between Britain and France. By this treaty it was agreed that the two contracting powers should mutually restore to each other all conquests that had been made during the war, and that commissioners should be appointed to investigate and determine the extent and limits of the adjacent territories of both monarchs in America. The evil consequences of thus leaving the boundaries of growing settlements unascertained, were sensibly experienced at no distant date.

Count Frontignac, on receiving intelligence of this treaty, acquainted the chiefs of the Indian tribes, whose martial co-operation he had obtained, that he could no longer assist or countenance their hostilities against the English, and advised them to deliver up their captives, and make peace on the best terms that they could obtain. The government of Massachusetts, to which their pacific overtures were addressed, sent two commissioners to Penobscot to meet with their principal sachems, who endeavoured to apologise for their unprovoked hostilities by ascribing them to the artifice and instigation of the French jesuits. They expressed, at the same time, the highest esteem, and even a filial regard, for Count Frontignac, and an earnest desire that, in case of any future war between the French and English, the Indians might be permitted to observe a neutrality between the belligerent parties. After some conferences, a new treaty was concluded with them, in which they were made to acknowledge a more formal submission to the crown of England than they had ever before expressed.

On the settlement of his affairs in Europe, the British king, at length, found leisure to direct some portion of his attention to America, and nominate a successor to the office that had

¹ Mather. Neal. History of the British Dominions in North America.—Trumbull. Holmes.

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1698. May. been vacant since the death of Sir William Phipps. The Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The office of deputy-governor of the two latter states was bestowed by this nobleman on Stoughton, whose recent services and disinterested patriotism effaced the jealousy with which at one time he had been regarded by his countrymen, for having accepted a seat in the legislative council of New England during the arbitrary sway of Sir Edmund Andros.¹

1699. Having pursued the separate history of the New England states up to this period, we shall now leave these interesting settlements in the enjoyment (unhappily, too short-lived) of a peace, whereof a long train of previous warfare and distresses had taught the inhabitants fully to appreciate the value. They were now more united than ever among themselves, and enriched with an ample stock of experience of both good and evil. When Lord Bellamont visited Massachusetts in the following year, the recent heats and animosities had entirely subsided: he found the inhabitants generally disposed to harmony and tranquillity, and himself contributed to cherish this disposition by a policy replete with wisdom, integrity, and moderation. The virtue that had so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than had attended its original display.

Moral and political state of New England. One of the causes, perhaps, that conduced to the restoration of harmony, and the revival of piety among this people, was the publication of various histories² of the New England

¹ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Belknap. Stoughton died in the year 1702. As the colonial agent in England, he had tendered advice that proved unacceptable to his countrymen; as a member of the grand council of Andros, he had occupied a post which they regarded with aversion; and as lieutenant-governor, he had promoted the odious prosecutions for witchcraft. Yet his repute for honest and disinterested patriotism finally prevailed over all the obstructions of these untoward circumstances; and a bright reversion of honour attended the close of his life. "Instead of children," says Hutchinson, "he saw before his death a college reared at his expense, which took the name of Stoughton-hall, and will transmit a grateful remembrance of his name to succeeding ages."

² Of these productions two of the earliest in point of composition were Governor Bradford's History of the Colony of Plymouth, and Governor Winthrop's Journal of Events in New England. But neither of these was published till more than a cen-

settlements, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting; and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue. Though New England might be considered as yet in a state of political infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which its colonization began, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it in unimpaired vigour, and with added renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more resolute and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor have the annals of colonization ever supplied another instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger, to strength and security, in which the principal actors have left behind them a reputation more illustrious and unsullied, with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral sense or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to animate hope and perseverance in brave and virtuous enterprise. They could not indeed boast, as the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania have done, that, openly professing non-resistance of injuries, and faithfully adhering to that profession, they had so fully merited and obtained the Divine protection by an exclusive dependence on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without

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tury after. The conclusion of Winthrop's Journal was not published till the year 1826.

A voluminous history of New England was composed by William Hubbard, a puritan clergyman; but never having been published, it is known only to scholars. It is frequently referred to as an authority by other New England historians. The author was rewarded for his labours by the following order of the general court of Massachusetts, in the year 1682:—"Whereas it has been thought necessary, and a duty incumbent upon us, to take due notice of all occurrences and passages of God's providence towards the people of this jurisdiction which may remain to posterity, and that the Rev. Mr. William Hubbard hath taken pains to compile a history of this nature, the court doth with thankfulness acknowledge his labour, and hereby orders the treasurer to pay him fifty pounds; he transcribing the work fairly into a book, that it may be the more easily perused."—Eliot's *New England Biography*.

B O O K
II.

violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honourable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malevolence of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they sincerely deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for christians to press even the right of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people,¹ and were incited by the manifest inferiority of those savage neighbours, to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavours to instruct their ignorance, and improve their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the exhibition of christian meekness,—they unquestionably excelled them in extent and activity of christian exertion. The quakers succeeded in conciliating the Indians; the puritans endeavoured to civilize them. The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which, on too many occasions, it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation which in some instances they received from the objects of their severity, tended greatly to extenuate the blame; and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly contrasted and inconsistent with the

¹ Not only were all the lands occupied by the colonists fairly purchased from their Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit-rents to the Indians, “which,” says Belknap, in 1784, “are annually paid to their posterity.” A great English writer has represented an Indian chief as moralizing on the policy and pretensions of the European colonists in the following strains:—“Others pretend to have purchased a right of residence and tyranny: but surely the insolence of such bargains is more offensive than the avowed and open dominion of force.” *Idler*. The Indians, indeed, were no strangers to such sentiments. Beholding with ignorant wonder and helpless envy the augmented value which the lands they had sold derived from the industry and skill of the purchasers, they very readily admitted the belief that they had been defrauded in the original vendition. But abundant evidence has been preserved by the New England historians, that the prices paid by the colonists, so far from being lower, were in general much higher than the real value of the land.

very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to remark and condemn this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the compositions of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists,—and written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, and excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. The writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious, and too enlightened, to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into conduct so oppressive and unchristian. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their native land was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance; and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained, was a dereliction of those principles, and an impeachment of their country's claim to the admiration of mankind. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for the virtues of their ancestors, they were forcibly admonished, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those infirmities from which even virtue of so high an order had been found to afford no exemption. From this time, the religious zeal of the people of New England was no longer perverted by intolerance, or disgraced by persecution; and the influence of Christianity in mitigating enmity, and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction, that the

BOOK principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with
 II. violence and severity; and that, revealing to every man his own infirmity much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to condemnation of others. Cotton Mather, who recorded and reproved the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his monitory representations, in the charity and liberality of their descendants.¹

New England having been colonised by men, not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at an early period by the labours of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the nurture of religious sentiment and principle. The theological works of John Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every protestant country of Europe. The annals of the various states, and the biography of their founders, were written by cotemporary historians with a minuteness which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which the writers were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honoured with the signal favour and especial guidance and direction of divine Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed these writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God, with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen; nor did

¹ A discourse which he published some years after this period, contains the following passage:—"In this capital city of Boston, there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of neighbourhood for one another in such a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society; and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissents in religion is an *abomination of desolation*, a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, 'Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce; and its wrath, for it is cruel.' " Neal's *Present State of New England*. The first episcopal society was formed in Massachusetts in 1686 (before the arrival of Andros); and the first episcopal chapel erected at Boston in 1688. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc. A quaker meeting-house was built at Boston in 1710. Ibid.

they desire to magnify the Divine grace in the infusion of human virtue, above the Divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. Nay, the errors and failings of the illustrious men, whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven; that the counsel and the virtue by which it had been conducted and achieved were not of human origin; and that the glory of God had been displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom, than in controlling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he condescended to employ.¹ The most considerable of these historical works, and the most interesting performance that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or History of New England, by Cotton Mather. Of this work, the arrangement is exceedingly faulty; and its vast bulk must continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations: biography is intermixed with history; and events of local or temporary interest related with tedious superfluity of detail. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various scenes of New England history, under the heads of *Remarkable Providences*, *Remarkable Trials*, and numberless other subdivisions. A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring partly of bad taste, and partly of superstition) which was very prevalent among the prose writers, and especially the theologians of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labour of every reader. The biographical portions, in particular, possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch.

¹ "If we look on the dark side, the human side, of this work, there is much of human weakness and imperfection hath appeared in all that hath been done by man, as was acknowledged by our fathers before us. Neither was New England ever without some fatherly chastisements from God; showing that he is not fond of the formalities of any people upon earth, but expects the realities of practical godliness according to our profession and engagement unto him."—Higginson's Attestation, prefixed to Cotton Mather's History.

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Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works,¹ some of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of *Essays to do Good*, and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more brevity than the author usually exemplifies) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of human life will present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures, must be ascribed to the impression produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth.² It is curious to find an infidel philosopher thus ascribe his own practical wisdom to the lessons of a christian divine, and trace the stream of his beneficence to the fountain of the gospel. History and divinity were the chief, but not the only subjects which exercised the labours of the scholars of New England. John Sherman, an eminent puritan divine who was one of the first emigrants from Britain to Massachusetts, where he died in 1685, obtained a high and just renown as a mathematician and astronomer. He left at his death a large manuscript collection of astronomical calculations; and for several years published an almanack which was interspersed with pious reflections and admonitions.³

A traveller who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions a number of booksellers there who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the *History of Printing in America* has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth century. Considering the circumstances and

¹ His biographers have given us a catalogue of his works, amounting to no fewer than *three hundred and eighty-two*—many, no doubt, of small dimensions, but others of considerable bulk. He was a singular economist of time, and at once the most voluminous and popular writer, and the most zealous and active minister of his age. Among his manuscripts was a theological work which he had prepared for publication, and which is reported to have been “enough constantly to employ a man, unless he be a miracle of diligence, the half of the threescore years and ten allowed us.” Holmes. In conversation he is said to have particularly excelled:—“Here it was seen how his wit and fancy, his invention, his quickness of thought, and ready apprehension, were all consecrated to God, as well as his will and affections.” Ibid. Above his study door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, “*Be short.*” He was the son of Dr. Increase Mather. Born in 1663, he died in 1727.

² Franklin's Works.

³ Eliot's New England Biography.

numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. C H A P.
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One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts.¹

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was fitted to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first provincial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in New England by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country; each residing on his own farm, and, in choosing the spot where his house was to be placed, guided merely by considerations of agricultural convenience. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as obstructed the erection of churches and schools, and the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favourable to the improvement of human character and manners. All the original townships were formed in what is termed in America *the village manner*;² the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small societies, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing; and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school.³ But the generous ardour of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. We have seen Harvard College arise in Massachusetts but a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid. The other states, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to support

¹ Dunton's Life and Errors. Thomas's Hist. of Printing in America.

² Dwight's Travels.

³ Abridgment of the Laws of New England. Neal.

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II.

similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, Newhaven, and New Hampshire, have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality.¹ The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute which this quarter of North America long continued to enjoy for the excellence and efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, not only in the other American states, but even in Great Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England.²

A general appetite for knowledge, and a universal familiarity with letters, was thus maintained from the beginning among the New England colonists. The rigid discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge, sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favourable influence on their character and turn of thinking, by awakening a generous emulation, and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the people of New England, the lower classes were not entirely exempt from the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion then generally received in the parent state, and consecrated by a special office long retained in her church liturgy, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, appears to have been imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those victims of the malady who were so unhappy as to entertain it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of

¹ Trumbull. Belknap.

² History of the British Dominions in America. In aid of the library of Yale College, copies of their works were contributed by the most illustrious writers in England; and among others by Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Richard Steele, Bishop Burnet, Dr. Woodward, Dr. Halley, Dr. Bentley, Calamy, Henry, and Whiston.—Holmes.

Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the assembly of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king ;¹ a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed should never be possible within the confines of North America.

CHAP.
V.

The amount of the population of New England at the present era has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand.² A much lower computation is adopted by Neal; and a much higher by a later historian.³ The population, it is certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigration of dissenters from various of the European states, and by domestic propagation in circumstances so favourable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has seen its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England, which, from a very early period of its history, has continually furnished swarms of hardy, sober, and educated men to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to industry and virtue. The severe restraint of licentious intercourse; the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family; and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people, combined with happy efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and during many years, the largest city in North America, appears to have contained a population of more than 10,000 persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to 20,000. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times every year.⁴

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions,—Massachusetts, New Hamp-

¹ Belknap. Smollett's History of England.

³ Hist. of the British Dominions in North America.

² Political Arithmetic.

⁴ Neal.

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shire, Connecticut and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there had been annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut the settlement of Newhaven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of the freeholders) in the assembly of the state to which it belonged. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated select-men, by whom the domestic government of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings per annum, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds; communion with the congregational churches having ceased for many years to be requisite to the enjoyment of political privileges. In the other states of New England, the qualification was nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government had been defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll taxes had been in use. The judicial procedure in all the provincial courts was conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity. In all trials by jury in New England, whether of civil or criminal causes, the juries were not, as in Britain, nominated by the sheriffs, but elected by the inhabitants; and these elections were conducted with the strictest precautions for preventing the intrusion of partiality or corruption.¹

Massachusetts and New Hampshire,—the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction,—were the only two provinces of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate government, it was the practice at this period, and for some time

¹ Hist. of the British Dominions in North America. Wynne's Hist. of British America.

after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the court of admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege defended, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut militia, the province refused to acknowledge his authority.¹ The laws of these states were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion—a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England.² So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor, was never able to create more than a very inconsiderable royalist party in this state. The functionaries whom he, or whom the crown appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and although the most strenuous efforts and the most formidable threats were employed by the British ministers to free the governor himself from the same dependence, they were never able to prevail with the assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.

In all the colonies of North America, and especially in the

¹ Wynne. Trumbull. Book V. chap. ii. *post*.

² There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity; these states not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared, by the king in council, "that their law concerning dividing land-inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England, and void;" but the colony paid no regard to this declaration.—Hist. of the British Dominions in North America.

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New England states, there existed at this period, and for a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a strong attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country* or *Home*,¹ and to a people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as holding an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved more particularly in Massachusetts by the abridgment of the privileges which she had originally enjoyed, and which still subsisted unimpaired in Connecticut and Rhode Island; and were maintained in every one of the states by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pursued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportionally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was in no degree promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters—an advantage which they well knew had been yielded to them with the utmost reluctance by the British government, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks: and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept alive by the aggressive policy of Britain, contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the subsequent destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolised the supply, the inhabitants of New England had no staple commodity

¹ They have left one indestructible mark of their origin, and their kindly remembrance of it, in the British names which they extended to American places. When New London in Connecticut was founded in the year 1648, the assembly of the province assigned its name by an act commencing with the following preamble:—"Whereas it hath been the commendable practice of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts, that as this country hath its denomination from our dear native country of England, and thence is called New England; so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to these plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there," &c., "this court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies been named in memory of the city of London," &c.—Trumbull.

which might not be obtained more cheaply in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but the manufacture of these metals in the colonies was obstructed by the dearth of labour; and till the year 1750, the export of American iron, even to the mother country, was restrained by heavy duties. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of her forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber,—and the produce of her cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into these provinces from England were estimated by Neal at 100,000*l*. The exports by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing 112 pounds) of dried cod-fish, which were sold in Europe for 80,000*l*., and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations and to the West Indies, New England sent lumber, fish and other provisions, valued at 50,000*l*. annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in New England;—an advantage for which this country was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels, as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were disposed of. The manufacture of tar was promoted for some time in New Hampshire by a law enacted in the assembly of this province in the beginning of the eighteenth century, which allowed the inhabitants to pay their taxes in tar rated at twenty shillings per barrel. A great part of the trade of the other American colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. For many years both before and after the present era, specie was so scarce in this quarter of America, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half-a-crown.¹

¹ Neal. Belknap. Wynne. Raynal. Douglas. Winterbetham.

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The progress of population in the district of Maine was remarkably slow. For many years after its first colonization, the greater number of the emigrants to this region were not husbandmen, but traders and fishermen,—a description of persons qualified neither by their views nor their habits to promote the culture and population of a desert. The soil of a great part of Maine was erroneously supposed, by the first European colonists, to be ungrateful to culture, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American revolution. Prior to this event, the greater part of the bread consumed in the district of Maine, was imported from the middle colonies.¹ All the states of New England were long infested with wolves; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the provincial assemblies, offering bounties for the destruction of those animals.²

Except in Rhode Island, the doctrine and form of the congregational church that was established by the first colonists, prevailed generally in the New England states. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties; in default of which, a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within a certain period of time prescribed by law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved to the court of quarter sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service; and it was remarked, that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, undetermined by legal provision, thus represented the success of their labours and the conscientious regard of their people.³ In Rhode Island there was no legal

¹ Sullivan's History of Maine. Dwight's Travels.

² Trumbull. Ordinances of New England to the year 1700. Chalmers.

³ Neal.

provision for the celebration of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed multitude of sectarians, who, having separated themselves from christian societies in other places, had continued ever since in a broken and disunited state. In their political capacity, the inhabitants of Rhode Island admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connexion between church and state. In their christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship; still fewer appear to have had stated places for such assemblage; and an aversion to every thing that savoured of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, it appears that the government, in 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw quakers and confiscate their estates, because they would not carry arms. But the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be executed.¹ Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies of antinomians, famalists, anabaptists, anti-sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, quakers, ranters, and every thing but Roman catholics and true Christians; *bonna terra, mala gens*." In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who had accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in their exile from Massachusetts, the antipathy to legal establishments and every species of subordination was carried to such an extreme that, at the present period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible antipathy to all rates and taxes, as devices invented for the benefit of *hivelings*,—by which opprobrious term they designated all civil and ecclesiastical functionaries who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbours, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was rarely that any crime was committed among them;

CHAP.
V.

¹ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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“which may be attributed,” says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, “to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least to the greatest.”¹ Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were the most considerable of the New England states, in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century there were an hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of the numerous congregations of christian Indians.² The censorial discipline exercised by these societies over their members was highly conducive to the preservation of good morals; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where no person could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.

Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were extremely strict, and not less strictly executed;³ and, being cordially supported by

¹ Neal. We have an account of the religious condition of Rhode Island, about thirty years after the present period, from the pen of the great and good Bishop Berkeley, who resided some years in this colony. A general indifference to religion, and a great relaxation of morality, had then become the characteristics of the majority of the people. Several churches, however, some on the congregational, and others on the episcopal model, had been established; and through their instrumentality, the blessings of religion were yet preserved in the colony. Berkeley's Works.

“So little,” says a writer much esteemed in America, “has the civil authority to do with religion in Rhode Island, that no contract between a minister and a society (unless incorporated for that purpose) is of any force. It is probably for these reasons that so many sects have ever been found here; and that the Sabbath and all religious institutions, as well as good morals, have been less regarded in this than in any other of the New England states.” Jedidiah Morse.

So late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legislature of Rhode Island discouraged the project of a turnpike road, alleging that turnpike duties and ecclesiastical establishments were *English practices*, and badges of slavery,—from which their people were distinguished over all the other Americans by a happy exemption. It was not till the year 1805 that the advantages of turnpike roads prevailed over the imaginary dignity of this exemption.—Dwight.

² Neal.

³ Josselyn, who visited New England, for the first time in 1638, relates, that in the *village* of Boston there were then two licensed inns. “An officer visits them,” he adds, “whenever a stranger goes into them; and if he calls for more drink than

public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess alike dangerous and discreditable to the perpetrator. We are assured by a well informed writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province: and a gentleman of unquestioned veracity who had resided in it for seven years, declared, that during all that period, he had never heard a profane oath, nor witnessed an instance of inebriety.¹ Labour was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so widely extended, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages which were vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated; and a steady and ardent patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more solid than brilliant:—not (as some have imagined) to discourage the cultivation or exercise of talent, but to repress its idle display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom, prudence, and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with politeness of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address which he had thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown.² From Dunton's account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by their cheerful vivacity, their hospitality, and a courtesy

the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away, he countermands it, and appoints the proportion, beyond which he cannot get one drop." Josselyn's Voyage. In 1694, the select men of Massachusetts were ordered to hang up in every alehouse lists of all *reputed* tipplers and drunkards within their districts; and alehouse keepers were forbidden to supply liquor to any person whose name was thus posted. Holmes. The magistrates of some of the towns of Scotland appear to have exercised similar acts of authority. An instance occurred in the town of Rutherglen in 1668.—Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen.

¹ Neal. Trumbull.

² Trumbull. Dwight's Travels.

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the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence.¹ From the circumstances of the country, it is impossible to suppose that the manners of its inhabitants could exhibit that perfection of exterior polish and factitious elegance, generated in old societies by leisure, wealth, and the necessity of refining the means of procuring social distinction. But while the absence of unsuitable pretensions and competitions banished the most copious source of vulgarity, the diffusion of literary taste and of liberal piety supplied an influence amply sufficient to soften and ennoble human manners. Elegance may consist with great plainness of external circumstances: nay, in proportion as it is unaided by exterior trapping and decoration, its origin seems the more refined and exalted, and its excellence the more genuine and durable. It was a remark of the Great Prince of *Condé*, that the New Testament displayed the most perfect model of a kind and graceful politeness that he had ever met with. Good manners consist in conducting ourselves towards every person with a demeanour, graciously expressive of the relation which he holds to ourselves and others. Christianity at once affords the justest, the most endearing, and most enlarged view of the relations of human beings to each other, and enforces by the strongest sanctions the duties and courtesies which these relations engender. Men devoted to the service of God, like the first generations of the inhabitants of New England, carried throughout their lives an elevated strain of sentiment and purpose, which must have communicated some portion of its own grace and dignity to their manners.

In the historical and statistical accounts of the various states,² we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and infant settlements. In no country has the ascendancy of talent been greater, or more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and

¹ Dunton's *Life and Errors*. Dunton, who had sat "at good men's feasts" in London, was yet struck with the plenty and elegance of the entertainments he witnessed in Boston.

² See, in particular, the *Histories* of Trumbull and Belknap, and the *Travels* of Dwight, *passim*.

timidity produced by them, surmounted ; the feuds and contentions naturally arising among settlers of various countries, habits, and opinions, composed ; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted ; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of institutions for preaching the gospel and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the new settlements that progressively arose, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a sphere of noble employment. They taught by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their common pursuits, and exercising a manifest superiority of understanding on the ordinary subjects of reflection and consideration. They exemplified a species of dignity at once the most substantial and the most generally attainable ; which depends not on opportunities of performing remarkable deeds, but consists in discharging the ordinary duties of life with a religious elevation of sentiment. They read their history in the approving eyes, and improving manners and condition of a free and happy people. Mankind have a greater aptitude to copy characters than to yield obedience to precepts ; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the exhibition of zeal than by the force of argument. Let the votaries of glory remember that if a life thus spent, circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it extends the influence of his character and sentiments to distant generations ; and that if posthumous fame be any thing more than a splendid illusion, it is such distinction as this, from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of public office, that the salaries of all municipal officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, it was remarked, that the whole annual expenses of its public institutions (about 800*l*.) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor.¹ The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much

¹ Trumbull.

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to exempt the offices from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and the officers from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability were fairly appreciated; and we frequently find the same individuals re-elected for a long series of years to the same offices,¹ and in some instances succeeded by their sons, where inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of place. In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the composition of single persons; the people desiring an eminent citizen to compose for them a body of laws, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions. The estimation and the disinterestedness of public services were not unfrequently attested by legislative appropriations of public money to defray the funeral charges of men who for many years had enjoyed the highest official dignities. The public respect for distinguished patriots, though not perpetuated by titles of nobility, was preserved in the recollection of their actions, and stimulated instead of relaxing the ardour of their descendants. The virtue of remarkable benefactors of their country was more diffusively beneficial from their never being separated from the mass of the community by titular distinctions. Remaining incorporated with the order of citizens, their merit more visibly reflected honour upon it, than if they had been advanced to an imaginary eminence, tending to engender in themselves or their descendants contempt for the bulk of their countrymen.

The most lasting, if not the most serious, evil with which New England has ever been afflicted, was the institution of slavery, which continued till a late period to pollute all its provinces, and even now lingers, though to a very slight extent, in the province of New Hampshire.² The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by

¹ In the year 1634, the people of Massachusetts having elected a particular individual to the office of governor, in place of Winthrop, who had previously enjoyed this dignity, their conduct was censured by John Cotton, who, in a sermon preached before the general court, maintained that a magistrate ought not to be remitted to the condition of a private individual, without some cause of complaint publicly established against him. This curious proposition was discussed by the court, and "referred for farther consideration."—Winthrop's Journal.

² The assembly of this province, as early as the reign of George the First, passed a law, enacting, that "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompense as the court of quarter sessions shall

the Indian hostilities ; but, once introduced, it was banefully calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted ; and instances have been recorded of judicial interposition to restrain the evil within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro fraudulently brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated by the magistrates and sent back to his native country.¹ No law expressly authorizing slavery was ever enacted by any of the New England states ; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in all these states, that, even while there was no law prohibiting the continuance of slavery, it never succeeded in gaining any considerable prevalence. By the early laws of Connecticut, man-stealing was declared a capital crime. In the year 1703, the assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of 4*l.* on every negro imported into the province ; and eight years after passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves.² In Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population ; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous (in the middle of the eighteenth century), the proportion was nearly the same : and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nearly nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery.³ The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to produce were repressed at once by so great a preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery ; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British govern-

adjudge ;" and that "if any person kill his Indian or negro servant, he shall be punished with death." The slaves in this province are said to have been treated in all respects like white servants.—Warden's United States.

¹ Belknap.

² Blue Laws of Connecticut. Holmes. "In the early part of the eighteenth century, Judge Sewell, of New England, came forward as a zealous advocate for the negroes. He addressed a memorial to the legislature, which he entitled *The Selling of Joseph*, and in which he pleaded their cause both as a lawyer and a christian. This memorial produced an effect upon many, but particularly upon those of his own religious persuasion."—Clarkson's Hist. of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

³ Warden. Winterbotham's America. Dwight.

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ment against the encouragement she afforded to it by supporting the slave trade. When North America attained independence, the New England states (with the single exception of New Hampshire) adopted measures which, in the course of a few years, abolished every trace of this vile institution. In New Hampshire, it seems to have been rather a preposterous regard for liberty, and the sacredness of existing possessions, than a predilection for slavery, that prevented this practice from being formally abolished by the principles by which it has been essentially modified and substantially condemned.¹

¹ There is a strange, I hope not a disingenuous, indistinctness in the statements of some writers respecting the negro slavery of New England. Winterbotham, writing in 1795, asserts, that "there are no slaves in Massachusetts." If he meant that a law had been passed which denounced, and was gradually extinguishing slavery, he was right; but the literal sense of his words is contradicted by Warden's Tables, which demonstrate that fifteen years after (the law not yet having produced its full effect) there were several thousand slaves in Massachusetts. Dwight relates his travels, in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, through every part of New England, without giving us the slightest reason to suppose that such beings as slaves existed in any one of its states, except when he stops to defend the legislature of Connecticut from an imputation on the manner in which her share of the abolition had been conducted. Warden himself says, in one page, that "slavery no longer exists in New England," even while, in another, he admits and seeks to palliate the occurrence of its lingering traces in New Hampshire.

N O T E S

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

NOTE I. Page 20.

THE important instruction, both moral and political, which may be derived from a consideration of the origin of the Slave Trade, is forcibly depicted by that distinguished philanthropist (Thomas Clarkson,) whose virtue promoted, and whose genius has recorded, the abolition of this detestable traffic. It is a remarkable fact, that the pious and benevolent Las Casas, actuated by an earnest desire to emancipate the feeble natives of South America from the bondage of the Spanish colonists, was the first person who proposed to the government of Spain the importation of negroes from Africa to America. His proposition was rejected by Cardinal Ximenes, who considered it unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and was, moreover, struck with the moral inconsistency of delivering the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by transferring it to the inhabitants of another. "After the death of Cardinal Ximenes, the Emperor Charles the Fifth encouraged the slave trade. In 1517, he granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Africans into America. But he lived long enough to repent of what he had thus inconsiderately done. For in the year 1542, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate Indians in his foreign dominions; and he stopped the progress of African slavery by an order that all slaves in his American islands should be made free." This order was subsequently defeated by his own retirement into a monastery; but "it shows he had been ignorant of what he was doing, when he gave his sanction to this cruel trade. It shows, when legislators give one set of men an undue power over another, how quickly they abuse it; or he never would have found himself obliged, in the short space of twenty-five years, to undo that which he had countenanced as a

great state measure. And while it confirms the former lesson to statesmen, of watching the beginnings or principles of things, in their political movements, it should teach them never to persist in the support of evils, through the false shame of being obliged to confess that they had once given them their sanction; nor to delay the cure of them, because, politically speaking, neither this nor that is the proper season; but to do them away instantly, as there can be only one fit or proper time in the eye of religion, namely, on the conviction of their existence." Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Louis the Thirteenth of France was at first staggered by the same scruples of conscience that prevailed with Charles, and could not be persuaded to authorize the slave trade till he had been made to believe that he would promote the religious conversion of the negroes by suffering them to be transported to the colonies. — Ibid.

NOTE II. Page 56.

Captain Smith appears to have been so obnoxious to the leading patentees, that, even if he had remained in the colony, it is highly improbable that they would ever have intrusted him with official authority. They neither rewarded nor re-employed him after his return to England. They were bent on deriving immediate supplies of gold or rich merchandize from Virginia; and ascribed their disappointment in a great measure to his having restricted his views to the establishment of a solid and respectable frame of provincial society. This is apparent from many passages of his writings, and particularly from his letter to the patentees while he held the presidency. An honester but absurder reason, that appears to have prevailed with some of them to oppose his pretensions to office, was, that certain fortune-tellers had predicted that he would be unlucky; a prediction that sometimes contributes to its own fulfilment.

In various parts of his history, Smith applies himself to refute their unreasonable charges, and account for the disappointment of their expectations. For this purpose he has drawn a parallel between the circumstances of the Spanish and the English colonists of America. "It was the Spaniards' good hap," he observes, "to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence it afforded victuals at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, that they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those countries afforded: so that what the Spaniard got was chiefly the spoil and pillage of those country people, and not the labours of their own hands. But had these fruitful countries been as savage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as Virginia,

their proper labours, it is likely, would have produced as small profit as ours. And had Virginia been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious jewels and rich commodities as were the Indies; then, had we not gotten and done as much as, by their examples, might be expected from us, the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made shame and infamy our recompense and reward."

Were we to confine our attention to the apparent import of this isolated passage, it would be difficult not to suppose that this excellent person was deterred less by want of inclination than by lack of opportunity, from imitating the robberies and enormities of the Spanish adventurers. But the general strain of his book, as well as the more credible evidence supplied by the whole scope and tenor of his life, would fully refute the unjust supposition. That he was unacquainted with the enormities committed by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, may be collected from the praises he bestows on their exploits, and from his appealing to the glory of these exploits as an incentive that should stimulate the ardour of the English in the exercise of laborious virtue, and the prosecution of humble but honest emolument in North America. Thus nobly we find him expressing the sentiments of a mind which the condition of humanity did not exempt from being deceived, but which piety preserved from gross depravation or perversion. — "Who can desire more content that hath small means or but only his merit, to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant, than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any; if he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honour and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue, and gaining to our mother country a kingdom to attend her; finding employment for those that are idle because they know not what to do; so far from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise?" It is probably such expressions as these that have led certain writers to charge Smith with *enthusiasm*—a term by which some persons denote every elevation of view and tone that religion imparts,—and by which many others designate every quality and sentiment that they feel to be above the pitch of their own nature.

Smith proceeds as follows: "Then who would live at home idly, or think in himself any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and

sleep, and so die; or consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily, or using that miserably that maintained virtue honestly; or being descended nobly, pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred in penury; or, to maintain a silly show of bravery, toil out thy heart, soul, and time basely, by shifts, tricks, cards and dice; or by relating news of other men's actions, shark here and there for a dinner or supper," &c., "though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seek them, and worthily deserve them." He adds shortly after, "It would be a history of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugals, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries, which, with such incomparable honour and constant resolution, so far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured, in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, sloth, and negligence. Yet the authors of these new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that but seek to imitate their unparalleled virtues."

I should contend neither wisely nor honestly for the fame of Captain Smith, were I to represent him as a faultless character, perfectly unclothed of the imperfections of humanity. The sufferings of others were able to provoke him to an intemperance, at least of language, which none of his own trials and provocations ever elicited, and which none of his actions ever realized. Indignant at the dreadful massacre of the Virginian colonists in 1662, long after he had left them, he pronounced in haste and anger that the colony could not be preserved without subduing or expelling the Indians, and punishing their perfidious cruelty as the Spaniards had punished "the treacherous and rebellious infidels" in South America. These expressions afford a farther proof of the very imperfect acquaintance he had with the real circumstances that attended the subjugation of South America by the Spaniards. "Notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution as Captain Smith displayed," says an intelligent historian of Virginia, "there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was." Stith.

He expatiates at great length, and with much spirit and ability on the advantages of colonial establishments in America; and recounts a variety of inducements to embark in them, appropriate to the various classes of society in England. Colonies, he characterizes as schools for perpetuating the hardy virtues on which the safety of every state must depend. He ascribes the fall of Rome, and the subjugation of Constantinople to the indolence and covetousness of the rich, who not only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to provide them with safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident

to a planter's life, and illustrates his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill-bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content." To *gentlemen* he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to *labourers*, the blessings of a vacant soil, of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate clime, and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence; the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honourable and worthy country men, let not the meanness of the word fish, distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a mere outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting, and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the practical skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the "Essay on Plantations," and the "Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But Smith's renown will break forth again. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will be reckoned more interesting.

Smith was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

NOTE III. Page 61.

Robertson's credit as a historian is not a little impeached by the strange inaccuracy of his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration. He not only imputes to the Company the enactment and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that

prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary ; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to whom Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons, which he assigns, is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and the company with having approved. In support of an accusation so distinct and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported only by such evidence. For *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law,—and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a provincial government should “have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation:” a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James' second charter to the company had already invested the provincial governors with “full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or rebellion;” and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them “in case of necessity,” to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own “good discretions.” No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the original constitution, and for the purposes of the ordinary government of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this proceeding to the act of the council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well if the council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that “Those who plant colonies must be endued with great patience.”

NOTE IV. Page 197.

Chalmers and Robertson have ascribed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to “the unsocial character of their religious confederacy.” As the charge of entertaining anti-social principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation against the American colonists, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blame-worthy acceptance, the charge of unsocial principles

most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries, may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow men. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New Plymouth, in his account of the colony, declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every reformed church to communion with them. "We ever placed," he continues, "a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it. It is true we profess and desire to practice a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the settlers who were admitted into the church of New Plymouth were encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the church of England, or of any other reformed establishment (Mather). It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honourably social or more eminently charitable, may be gathered from a passage in Howel's Familiar Letters, where this defender of royalty and episcopacy thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind. "I rather pity than hate a Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." The policy of the ecclesiastical administration of England tendered a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervour for the church party did not survive the power of this party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy he became the defender and panegyrist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Waller and Dryden, he returned in the train of fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

NOTE V. Page 232.

The introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet (followed by Hume), who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind; and, with the sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scorning to plead, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, "Alas!" said he, "what ado they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour. I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart."—Even Burnet admits that the resolution he summoned up at the last prompted him "to some very extraordinary acts, though they cannot be mentioned." Oldmixon, less scrupulous, has satisfied the curiosity that Burnet excited, by relating that "Lady Vane began her reckoning for her son, the Lord Barnard, from the night before Sir Henry lost his head on Tower Hill." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events this cloud, whether naturally attendant on his character or artificially raised by the envious breath of his detractors has, from the admirable vigour of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanour, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

Hugh Peters, like Sir Henry Vane, has been charged with defect of courage. Bishop Burnet, in particular, reproaches him with cowardice at his execution. Yet in reality his death was dignified by a courage that distinguished him even among the regicides. After his fellow-sufferer Cook had been quartered before his face, the executioner approached him, and rubbing his bloody hands, said, "Come Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" Peters answered, "I thank God I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." Prefixed to a posthumous work of Peters, entitled "A dying Father's last Legacy to his Daughter," is a poetical tribute to the author, thus concluding:—

"Yet his last breathings shall, like incense hurled
On sacred altars, so perfume the world,
That the next will admire, and out of doubt,
Revere that torch-light, which this age put out."

NOTE VI. Page 276.

The accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various tribes of these heathens, abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians? A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? A third proposed this question, How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment? On another occasion, after Mr. Elliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God? A second asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one father? A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea water was salt and river water fresh? Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for promoting the accomplishment of the purpose of God? One woman asked, Whether she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side? Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife? Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they had formerly served had in reality considerable power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powaws for their apostacy, they said, We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above yours that he can defend us from them, and enable even us to tread upon them all. "Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had? When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, "Is that all? I have thirty-seven? Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one?" Other sachems rejected the instructions of the missionaries with angry disdain, saying, that "the English had taken away their lands and were attempting now to make them slaves." The efforts of missionaries among the Indians have always been obstructed by the erroneous ideas of liberty fondly cherished by these savages. "The Indians are convinced," says Charlevoix, "that man is born free, that no power on earth has a right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing can compensate the loss of it; and it has been found a very difficult matter to undeceive even the christians among them, and to make them understand how, by a natural consequence of the corruption of our nature, which is the effect of sin, an unbridled

liberty of doing wrong differs very little from an obligation to commit it, because of the strength of the bias which draws us to it ; and that the law which restrains us causes us to approach nearer to our original state of liberty, whilst it appears to take it from us."—Charlevoix's Travels.

NOTE VII. Page 293.

The character of George Fox is certainly neither justly nor generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous, and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few, and wholly read by still fewer. Many form their opinions of him from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries : and of the quakers there are many who derive their opinions of him from the passages of a very different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here subjoin a few extracts from his Journal, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text : premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent quaker, for the purpose of *proving* that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1648 he found his nature so completely new modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus : so that I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me ; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell ; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterwards held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being, by cultivation of the spiritual principle within his breast, might become, like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterwards that it was an angel or spirit that

had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great *steeple-house*; and the Lord said unto me, thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly entered the church, and hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh no; it is not the scriptures: it is the Holy Spirit.'" On another occasion having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters*, &c., Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a-year of them "for preaching the scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Lichfield, he declares he found himself spiritually directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walk through the streets, exclaiming, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns the delirious extravagance of the *ranter*s, and relates various attempts he had made to convince them of their delusion. (Journal.)

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this Journal, informs us that these *ranter*s were persons who for want of staying their minds in a humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme."

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the *ranter*s, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses conveying assurance to the world that these deluded persons were quakers only in name (Journal). He applies the epithet of *ranter*s to many of those who called themselves quakers in America. Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end *ranter*s, or something worse. Of these was James Naylor long the fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a quaker, at the time when he was in prison for blasphemy and obscenity. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Naylor's errors and disobedience to himself. When he found

that Naylor would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Naylor that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." (Journal.) Naylor had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers uttering blasphemous proclamations before him, and had gloried in the commission of the most scandalous impurities. On his trial he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who deposed that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Naylor.

It is not easy to discover what part of the extravagance of Naylor was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he says, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." (Journal.) Many such instances he relates in the Journal, with cordial approbation of the conduct of the quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking naked.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil. Yet though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's real opinion was, that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own will into a wicked one. He sets down every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he employed for their relief. It may be doubted if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were (to his knowledge) so regarded by his followers, and the quaker editor of his Journal refers to them in the index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider quakerism, the growth of a protestant country, and quietism, which arose among Catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connection: but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be effectually accomplished when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain, by a sect called the *Illuminati* or *Alambra-dos*, who sprang up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances: and some of them became notorious

for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It re-appeared again with a system of doctrine considerably purified (yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible impression) towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fenelon.

NOTE VIII. Page 302.

Besse, in his voluminous "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relates that Lydia Wardel of Newbury in New England, a convert to quakerism, found herself inwardly prompted to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behaviour. The duty and concern she lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. He also notices the case of "Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers."

George Bishop, another quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt."—New England Judged. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern quakers, who praise instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola, and Xavier is still commended by their sly successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits.

Since the infancy of quakerism, various eruptions of the primitive frenzy have occurred. But they have all been partial and short lived. The most remarkable occurred in Connecticut in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Even in the close of that century, as I was assured by a respectable person, who was a witness of the fact, a quaker walked naked for several days successively at Richmond in Virginia *as a sign of the times*. Nathaniel Prior,

a worthy quaker of London, informed me that at a meeting of his fellow sectaries at which he was present in the beginning of the nineteenth century, one member suddenly starting up, announced that he was directed by the Spirit to walk in Lombard Street without his breeches. He was instantly disowned and expelled by the Quaker Society. The progressive diminution of quaker extravagance has been attended with a progressive increase of acknowledged insanity among the quakers—in whose society the numbers of the insane bear a greater proportion to the whole mass than in any other christian sect or association.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by Besse and Bishop, without extending its severity to the bare profession of quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of quaker principles; a conviction which, it appears, the language even of those quakers who were themselves guiltless of outrage, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the ingenious inhumanity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The apology of the magistrates of New England is thus expressed by Cotton Mather: “I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and interrupt their public worship, and endeavour to seduce their children from it; yea, and repeat such endeavours after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments to oblige their departure.” Yet Mather deploras and condemns the extreme severities which were ultimately inflicted by his countrymen upon the quakers. It was one of the privileges of Israel that *the people shall dwell alone*; and the hope of enjoying a similar privilege was one of the motives that led the puritans to exchange the pleasures of their native land for the labours of a desolate wilderness.

A story is told by Whitelocke strongly illustrative of the singularity with which the quakers of those times combined all that was frantic in action with all that was dignified and affecting in suffering. Some quakers at Hasington, in Northumberland, having interrupted a minister employed in divine service were severely beaten by the people. Instead of resisting, they went out of the church, and falling on their knees besought God to pardon their persecutors, who knew not what they did,—and afterwards addressing the people, so convinced them of the cruelty of their violence,

that their auditors fell a quarrelling among themselves, and beat one another more than they had formerly beaten the quakers.

The quakers have always delighted to exaggerate the persecutions they have encountered. An illustrious French traveller has been so far deceived by their vague declamations on this topic, as to assert that quakers were at one time *put to the torture* in New England.—Rochefoucault's Travels.

NOTE IX. Page 315.

Upon this occasion Cotton Mather observes — “Such has been the jealous disposition of our New Englanders about their dearly bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of these privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very froward entertainment among his countrymen: and there may be the wisdom of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the malice of the evil one, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations.”

Norton before his departure for England expressed a strong apprehension that the business he was required to undertake would issue disastrously to himself. Mather adds, “In the spring before his going for England, he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony assembled at the court of election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage:—*Moses was the meekest man on earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time! a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a mere man.*”

It might have been expected that Norton, whose death was thus in a manner the fruit of his exertions to extend religious liberty in the colony, would have escaped the reproach of persecution. But he had given mortal offence to the quakers by promoting the prosecutions against the quaker enthusiasts in New England. And after his death, certain of that body published at London, *A Representation to King and Parliament*, wherein, pretending to report some *Remarkable Judgments upon their Persecutors*, they inserted the following passage: “John Norton, chief priest at Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.” Mather. The popish fables respecting the deaths of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, are hardly more replete with folly, untruth, and presumption, than some of these quaker interpretations of Providence. Their authors, like many other persons involved in religious contentions, or exposed to persecution for religion's sake, mistook an ardent zeal in behalf of what they esteemed divine

truth for a complete subjection of mind to the Divine will, and an entire identification of their views and purposes with it; practically regardless of their own remaining infirmity, and forgetting that while we continue to be clothed with humanity, we know only in part, and can see but darkly. Enlargement of view is always attended with increase of charity; and the cultivation of our charity at once refines and enlarges our view.

NOTE X. Page 317.

Winthrop the younger was in the bloom of manhood, accomplished by learning and travel, and the heir of a large estate, when he readily joined with his father in promoting and accompanying an expedition of emigrants to New England. Cotton Mather has preserved a letter written by Winthrop the elder to his son, while the one was governor of Massachusetts, and the other of Connecticut. I shall be excused for transcribing some part of an Epistle so beautiful in itself, and so strikingly characteristic of the fathers of New England. "You are the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons, and three daughters; and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These are now all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone: you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things, and learn wisdom thereby which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you: And for which, this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which has here prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence, as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you nor forsake you. My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for myself. But I know thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but on the blessing of our heavenly Father: neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum

up all the turnings of divine providence together, you shall find great advantage. The Lord hath brought us to a good land, a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labour, therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travels abroad from being infected with the vices of those countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers.) Let Him have the honour of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favour in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; he it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children. And therefore I would have you to love him again and serve him, and trust him for the time to come."

The wife of the writer of the foregoing letter, and the mother of the person to whom it was addressed, was a daughter of the celebrated Hugh Peters.—Savage's Notes to Winthrop's Hist.

Winthrop the elder not only performed actions worthy to be written, but produced writings worthy to be read. Yet his Journal, or History, as it has been termed in the late edition by Mr. Savage, is very inferior in spirit and interest to his Letters.

NOTE XI. Page 341.

Among many interesting and romantic adventures and escapes related by Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Dwight, and other New England writers, as having occurred during the continuance of Philip's War, there is one incident which excited much wonder and speculation at the time, and has since derived an increase of interest from the explanation which it received after the death of the individual principally concerned in it. In 1675, the town of Hadley was alarmed by the sudden approach of a body of Indians in the time of public worship, and the people were thrown into a confusion that betokened an unresisted massacre. Suddenly a grave elderly person appeared in the midst of them. Whence he came or who he was, nobody could tell. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but putting himself at their head, he rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who were defeated and put to flight. As suddenly, the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in a state of perplexity and amazement, and utterly unable to account for this singular phenomenon. After his death it was known to have been Goffe, the regi-

cide, who dwelt somewhere in the neighbourhood, but in such deep sequestration that none but those who were intrusted with the secret were ever able to make the remotest approach to a discovery of his retreat. Whaley resided with him; and they had some years before been joined by another of the regicides, Colonel Dixwell. They frequently changed their place of abode, and gave the name of *Ebenezer* to every spot that afforded them shelter. They had many friends both in England and in the New England states, with some of whom they maintained a close correspondence. They had constant and exact intelligence of every thing that passed in England, and were unwilling to resign all hopes of deliverance. Their expectations were suspended on the fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, which they had earnestly studied. They had no doubt that the execution of the late king's judges was *the slaying of the witnesses*, and were greatly disappointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event; but still flattered themselves with the hope of some error in the commonly received chronology. The strict inquisition that was made for them by the royal commissioners and others, renders their concealment in a country so thinly peopled, and where every stranger was the object of immediate and curious notice, truly surprising. It appears that they were befriended and much esteemed for their piety by persons who regarded the great action in which they had participated with unqualified disapprobation.—Hutchinson.

NOTE XII. Page 344.

That the jealousy and suspicion with which the New England states were regarded by the English court had not slumbered in the interim, may be inferred from the following passages extracted from the Journal of John Evelyn, the author of "*Sylva*" who, in the reign of Charles the Second was one of the commissioners of trade and plantations. 26 May, 1671. "What we the commissioners most insisted on, was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that colony was such that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; his majesty therefore commended this affair more expressly." — "Some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that colony, were utterly against." 6th June. "We understood they were a people almost on the brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown." 3d August. "The matter in debate was, whether we should send a deputy to New England, requiring them of Massachusetts to

restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petitioned the council; this to be the open commission only, but in truth with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory." 12th February, 1672. "We also deliberated on some fit person to go as commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected."

END OF VOL. I.

